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# AESCHYLUS

## AGAMEMNON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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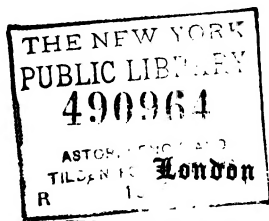
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## P R E F A C E.

THE difficulty of editing Aeschylus' Agamemnon for schools is due to the fact that the play is in many ways too hard for school boys, though it will always continue, and rightly continue, to be read at school for the sake of its incomparable grandeur and beauty. For example, much of the difficulty of the Agamemnon is owing to the corruptness of the MSS.; and while it is impossible in editing it to put aside discussion of the text, it is not desirable with beginners to enter much into such points, nor even with more advanced students, except to a limited extent. At the same time the better boys in the Upper form of a public school ought to be taught the elements of text criticism:—and the Agamemnon is not at all a bad play for the purpose.

Under these circumstances I have thought it best to give all the important MS. variations in the text, and to give reasons in the notes for the readings adopted. The teacher can use this as much or as little as he likes.

The mass of literature on the Agamemnon is so great that it is almost impossible to mention all one's obligations. The list of editors and emendators consulted or quoted is given at page xxi; but I may add that I have studied, more fully than the rest, the editions of Dindorf, Paley, Schneidewin, Enger, Hermann, and Kennedy: and that to all I owe much,

## PREFACE.

Enger for interpretation, and Hermann for text. I have tried to master the main contributions of Veil, Wellauer, Klausen, Hartung, Karsten, Schömann, and Madvig. Hartung, Karsten, and Schömann are all bold and suggestive, especially Hartung: and all have been of service to emendation. Madvig, though I believe he is right in one hard passage by a brilliant emendation (1228), is not usually happy in his suggestions.

I owe not a little to suggestions in casual papers; and I must mention Zeyss on the religious ideas of the Greeks, Göttingen 1829, Professor Campbell's paper in the *American Journal of Philology*, Dec. 1880, and Professor Probst's paper on Agamemnon, read before the Philological Association, 1877, the last two kindly sent to me by the authors.

For a beautiful emendation (1172) I owe to my friend Mr. J. H. Muller, of Canterbury School, New Zealand.

In the Introduction and Notes I have mostly abandoned the old custom of writing the Greek names according to Latin corruptions. I perhaps ought to apologise for not doing this completely: but some names are so firmly in their Latin dress that I have not changed them.

London, 1881.

In wishing to find some of the best German editors displaying a familiarity with the iambic metre. I have observed seven names among emendations confidently put forth by eminent scholars. In the great Madvig propounds a cretic.

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# INTRODUCTION.

## THE ORESTEIA.

THE Agamemnon is one of a set of three plays which all dealt with the same story, each constituting as it were one act of a great drama. Such sets were called trilogies, and according to the ordinary theory were acted on the same occasion, and were usually followed by a fourth play of a lighter cast (called Satyric dramas, from the Satyr or attendant of Dionysos, which originally was a leading part in it): the whole four being called a tetralogy. The subject of the Satyric play in this instance is traditionally recorded to have been 'Proteus.' Considerable doubt has been thrown upon this theory of trilogies or tetralogies; but it is at least clear that the three plays in this case were all composed by the poet with reference to each other. The Agamemnon relates the return and murder of the king (the Crime); in the second play, the Choëphoroe, Orestes comes back and slays his mother Klytaemnestra (the Vengeance); while in the third, the Eumenides, the matricide is released from the furies who have pursued him, and acquitted by divine interposition before the Areiopagos at Athens (the Reconciliation). About the Proteus we know nothing<sup>1</sup>.

The date of the Agamemnon is given as B.C. 458, and the poet won the first prize.

The presumable division of parts is as follows in the Agamemnon:—

Chief actor or Protagonist: Klytaemnestra.

Second actor or Deuteragonist: Cassandra.

Third actor or Tritagonist: Agamemnon.

Watchman, Herald, Aegisthos, divided among the others.

Chorus of Argive elders.

<sup>1</sup> Except three fragmentary lines and a few words, preserved by grammarians and scholiasts, and printed among the fragments of Aeschylus.

## THE STORY AND THE PLOT OF THE AGAMEMNON.

The story is the return and murder of Agamemnon by Klytaemnestra his wife, aided by her lover Aegisthos; Agamemnon is accompanied by a captive, the princess and prophetess Cassandra, and she is murdered by the same hands at the same time. The story is as old as Homer, and Aeschylus gives it, as will be seen below, with some differences.

The action of the play in detail is as follows :—

Agamemnon has been absent for ten years at Troy. Meanwhile his wife Klytaemnestra has been ruling Argos (not Mykenae, see note on line 1), in conjunction with her lover Aegisthos. The news of the capture of Troy is daily expected, and the play opens with the appearance of the night-watchman on the roof, waiting (as he has been for a year past) for the beacon fire which is to announce the victory. While the watchman is complaining of his troubles, the flame flashes out, and he goes to tell his mistress (Prologue). The chorus enter and sing; meanwhile the queen comes out, and is seen lighting the altar fires and preparing for a festal display in honour of the event. The leader of the chorus learns from her the tidings, and after describing the beacon-race, describes the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that all will end happily (Scene 1). After another choric song the Herald appears, and describes the sufferings before Troy, and, finally, the Greeks have scattered the fleet; the queen sends by him a messenger to her lord (Scene 2). In Scene 3 Agamemnon returns, accompanied by Cassandra; Klytaemnestra greets her lord, and persuades him to enter the palace over purple carpets. In Scene 4 the messenger describes the scene in Cassandra, but as the prophetess sits mute and does not answer her, she retires. Cassandra then delivers herself of a long speech, and announces the murder of the king and of herself. The chorus are heard behind the scenes; the doors open, and Klytaemnestra is seen with the dead. She justifies her deed, and Aegisthos comes forth and exults; and just as the Argives are about to assail him, the queen steps in and stays the tumult.

## EARLIER VERSIONS OF THE STORY.

The earliest version of the story must be gathered from the passages in Homer<sup>1</sup>:—

Adapted from the beautiful translation by Butcher and Lang.

(1) Od. i. 35. 'Even as of late Aegisthos, beyond that which was ordained, took to him the wedded wife of Atreides, and killed her lord on his return, and that with sheer doom before his eyes, since we [the gods, Zeus is speaking] had warned him by the mouth of Hermes . . . that he should neither kill the man nor woo his wife. For from Orestes shall there be vengeance for Atreides so soon as he shall come to man's estate and long for his own country. So spake Hermes, yet he prevailed not on the heart of Aegisthos.'

(2) Od. iii. 263. '[Aegisthos] living in peace in the heart of Argos . . . spake oftentimes to the wife of Agamemnon and tempted her. Verily at the first she would none of the foul deed, the fair Klytaemnestra, for she had a good understanding. Moreover there was with her a minstrel, whom the son of Atreus straitly charged as he went to Troy to have a care of his wife. But when at last the doom of the gods bound her to her ruin, then did Aegisthos carry the minstrel to a lonely isle, and left him there to be the prey and spoil of birds; while, as for her, he led her to his house, a willing lover with a willing lady . . . . [304] and for seven years he ruled over Mykenae, rich in gold, after he slew the son of Atreus, and the people were subdued unto him. But in the eighth year came upon him goodly Orestes back from Athens to be his bane, and slew the slayer of his father.'

(3) Od. iv. 521. 'Then verily did Agamemnon set forth with joy upon his country's soil, . . . and the watchman spied him from his tower, whom crafty Aegisthos had led and posted there, promising him for a reward two talents of gold. Now he kept watch for a year, lest Agamemnon should pass by him when he looked not, and mind him of his wild prowess. So he went to the house to bear the tidings to the shepherd of the people. And straightway Aegisthos contrived a cunning treason. He chose out twenty of the best men in the township, and set an ambush, and on the further side of the hall he bade prepare a feast. Then with chariot and horses he went to bid to the feast Agamemnon, shepherd of the people: but caitiff thoughts were in his heart. He brought him up to his house all unwitting of his doom, and when he had feasted him, slew him, as one slayeth an ox at the stall. And none of the company of Atreides were

left, nor any of the men of Aegisthos, but they were all killed in the halls.'

(4) Od. xi. 409. [Shade of Agamemnon speaks.] 'Aegisthos slew me, with the aid of my accursed wife . . . . after he had bidden me to his house . . . . Even so I died, and round me my company likewise were slain without ceasing . . . . And most pitiful of all, I heard the voice of the daughter of Priam, of Cassandra, whom the traitorous Klytaemnestra slew hard by me; but as for me, as I strove to raise my hands I dropped them to the earth as I lay dying . . . . Naught is more shameless than a woman who imagines such evil in her heart, even as she too planned a foul deed, fashioning death for her gentle lord.'

### MODIFICATIONS OF THE STORY.

It will be seen not only that the tale, as Aeschylus gives it, is different in many particulars from the Homeric story, but also that in the different passages of the *Odyssey* different versions seem to have been current; or at least it is possible to trace a development of the mythus.

In Homer it is *Aegisthos* who does the murder, either alone, as (1) seems to imply, or by an ambuscade, as (3) tells us. Also *Aegisthos* is not in Agamemnon's palace: he took *Klytaemnestra* to his own house (2): and there entertained the king (3), and there murdered him. *Aegisthos*' motive is not mentioned, but seems to be mere ambition.

*Klytaemnestra* in (1), (2), and (3) is not said to have had anything to do with the murder, but is only described as unfaithful: while in (4) she 'planned the foul deed,' and 'aided' the murderer, and herself killed *Kassandra*.

The '*minstrel*' who watched over the wife appears in (2) only and is nowhere else alluded to.

*Kassandra* appears only in (4).

In Aeschylus *Aegisthos* is only secondary in the murder: he is 'a recreant lion wallowing in the couch.' The motive which he alleges is vengeance, arising out of family feuds.

*Klytaemnestra* is the leading agent: she is the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ who devises and executes: and her motive too is vengeance for her child's death, with a touch of jealousy for *Kassandra*. Of a feast or ambuscade Aeschylus knows nothing: the king is muffled

in a cloak and stabbed in a bath. And there is no battle of attendants.

The *Watchman* in Aeschylus, though, like the Homeric guard in (3), 'he has watched for a year,' is not a spy of Aegisthos watching to catch Agamemnon, but a loyal servant<sup>1</sup> who grieves over the disorders of the house, is watching for the *beacon*, and is overjoyed at the thought of seeing his master. And the murder takes place in the palace of Agamemnon.

Besides these there are minor modifications of the story. The confusion of Argos and Mykenae is mentioned in notes on line 1. In Homer too *Menelaos*<sup>2</sup> is king of Sparta and has nothing to do with the Agamemnon tale: in Aeschylus he is clearly joint-king of Argos with Agamemnon (42 sqq.). The chorus inquire for him, and call him 'loved ruler of the land' (619). The two are 'one in heart,' a 'two-throned power of the Achaioi' (109), and live in the same palace, called *δῶμος Ἀτρεΐδαν* (400). This accounts for the anxious inquiry of the chorus (617), and the reassurance given by the herald (675) about Menelaos.

### THE DRAMA OF THE AGAMEMNON.

How far Aeschylus was following current modifications in the story, and how far he himself modified the tradition for dramatic purposes, we cannot fully tell: nor is the subject one of great importance. It is of far greater interest to notice briefly some of the points that contribute to the extraordinary impressiveness of the poem as a work of art and as a drama.

Of Aeschylus' style it is not necessary to say much: every reader will feel its beauty and power. The principal characteristics of it are obviously its dignity, its strength, and the boldness and wealth of its imagery<sup>3</sup>: and though there are passages in

<sup>1</sup> This explains a curious note at the beginning of the Medicean manuscript, *θεράπων Ἀγαμέμνονος, οὐχ ὁ ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου ταχθεὶς*.

<sup>2</sup> This is remarked by Prof. Campbell in *American Journal of Phil.* Dec. 1880.

<sup>3</sup> Thus he speaks of 'the beard of fire,' 'war the gold-merchant,' a hurricane as 'an evil shepherd,' the sea 'flowering with dead,' a lion 'the Priest of Ruin,' 'the net of death,' 'the mixing bowl of wrath,' 'the raging Dam of Hades,' hope 'treading the halls of Fear.'

the Agamemnon which are bare, even in bareness it is grand; and on the other hand there are passages which for tenderness and pathos and pure poetic beauty are unmatched even in Greek. Such are the descriptions of Iphigeneia in the first chorus, of Helen in the second, and the whole scene with Cassandra. We have, too, much relief in the variety of the characters; and even a touch of humour here and there, as in the helplessness of the Argive elders after the murder<sup>1</sup>, and the racy vernacular idiom of the *φύλαξ*.

Another point is the marvellous power of conception shown in the two leading figures, Klytaemnestra and Cassandra, as is more fully developed below in treating of the characters (p. xiv).

But the effect of the play is largely due to another element, which is quite independent of the grandeur of the style, and the power of presenting character. And this element is what we may call the moralising of the plot. In Homer we have merely a tale of savage ambition and crime. In Aeschylus we have a house tainted with dreadful wickedness in the past, old sin leading to new sin, and that to further retribution, till the family seems haunted by a terrible fate of bloodshed. According to the later tale, Pelops, the ancestor, slew Myrtilus, by whose aid he won his bride: Atreus and Thyestes, his sons, slew their step-brother Chrysippos: Thyestes seduced his brother's wife Aerope. Atreus served up the slain children of Thyestes for their father to eat: Atreus' son Agamemnon banished Thyestes and his third son Aegisthos, and slew his own daughter Iphigeneia. Aeschylus only mentions the last three of these crimes: but the bloody past is present in his thoughts. And what gives the play its overwhelming effect is the feeling, ever growing, of this past horror and impending retribution. The 'House knows the many deeds of blood:' and the Avenger is always waiting. The justice of the gods may be slow, but it is sure.

This feeling is chiefly aroused and maintained by the choric songs, which will be found analysed below, p. xvii. For, by the necessities of the case, it is the chorus who have to hint the bloodguiltiness of the king. The queen, who is to avenge the

<sup>1</sup> The contrast between the decisiveness of the heroic personages and the imbecility of the council reveals a glimpse of the anti-democratic tendencies of the poet.



deed, cannot charge him with it, since, in order to execute her plot, she must maintain the mask of love and faithfulness<sup>1</sup>. And accordingly these choric songs are not merely splendid lyric poems, they are also as it were the voice of the general conscience sadly foreboding inevitable doom. In the eloquent words of a French critic<sup>2</sup>: 'The idea of impending chastisement is incessantly repeated; it mingles with the joy of victory; a dark cloud, big with the storm, covers the gloomy scene; till the dream, so wearing and so terrible, filled with visions so fearful and mysterious, ends with a peal of thunder.'

226. II + not 2

### THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The leading religious and moral ideas of Aeschylus, as they appear in the *Agamemnon*, can be summarised in a few sentences.

There is unquestioning faith in the gods: impiety, τὸ δυσσεβές, is the worst of sins (760). The gods are all powerful: Zeus is beyond compare (162), the cause of all and the doer of all (1485). The gods regard men's actions (370), punish transgression (59), avenge bloodshed (461), though the retribution may linger (364).

The leading idea of the gods is their power: human sin comes from resisting or defying this power, ὑβρις (765). The gods are also just: but the justice is a form of their power; it is the humbling of the proud. So wealth is no defence to the wicked (381), and virtue is found among men in humble dwellings (772).

The oruder idea that God resents mere prosperity, he rejects (755): misery always comes from sin (760). Yet prosperity is dangerous, as it engenders pride (372): mortals are insatiate of wealth (1002, 1331) and so come to ill. For human well-being is precarious: 'Disease is behind the party-wall,' and there is always 'the hidden reef' (1002-5). The thunderbolt strikes the famous (470).

Man then who has sinned cannot escape: 'the doer must suffer' (1564). And in this way god teaches man: 'wisdom comes by suffering' (177).

Aeschylus feels strongly the mysteriousness of human fate and

<sup>1</sup> Enger. Preface to *Agamemnon*.

<sup>2</sup> Patin, *Étude sur Eschyle*.



the helplessness of man. Though the gods are omnipotent and just, yet this justice acts inscrutably. Agamemnon was bidden to slay his child, and had to obey (206): yet it was a crime (219-221), and produced 'terrible wrath,' rising again (154). It was to the king 'the collar of necessity' (218). In this way there is a fate, an avenger, established in the house (1481, 1507), the house is 'close welded to ruin' (1565). The refrain of human life is the prayer, 'Woe: but let good prevail,' which recurs in the first chorus: and the conclusion of the whole matter is 'it is hard to discern,' *δύσμαχά ἐστι κρίναι* (1561).

### THE CHARACTERS.

**Klytaemnestra.** The character of Klytaemnestra is given with a masterly force and effect in every stroke. There are no fine shades about the drawing, as there are none in the conception. She is the impersonation of the tyrannic self-will, wronged and angered, and turned to vengeance. She is Homer's *οὐλομένη ἄλοχος*, 'an accursed wife:' pitiless, and contemptuous, and unimpassioned, but resolutely bent on revenge, and concentrating her whole Titanic force upon it without misgiving<sup>1</sup>. There is no womanly passion in her, and no trace of weakness. The murder she is bent on is in revenge for her slain child, but we hear scarcely a word of love<sup>2</sup> for Iphigeneia from her lips: the lovely description of the maiden in her father's halls is from the mouth of the chorus; but the mother scarcely mentions her save in the climax of her bitter triumph, when with dreadful irony she pictures her welcoming her sire in Hades (1555). She is an adulteress, but there is no love for her paramour; her unfaithfulness is merely a form of her vengeance: hatred of her husband is the motive of it, not love of Aegisthos. She is crafty, but hers is the craft of a strong and not a weak nature; it is only the needful means to carry out her purpose completely, and the moment the need is over, the mask is scornfully flung aside.

<sup>1</sup> One leading difference between Klytaemnestra and her great rival Lady Macbeth lies in the difference of the effect of the crime upon the two. Klytaemnestra is unshaken: Lady Macbeth is broken by it.

<sup>2</sup> She does call her *φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ ὠδῖνα*: but this is in a passing justification, and is not really dwelt on by the poet.

Let us briefly trace her attitude through the play.

In scene 2 she enters (264) in apparent triumph: but of course the joy is not over the fall of Troy, it is merely grim delight in the coming vengeance. There is irony in her first word *εὐάγγελος*. There is a savage force in her long description of the beacons (281), and the state of Troy (320): she is acting a part all through. And there is a deep irony in her hope (347) 'that no evil desire might bring woe on the host: old ills might wake!'

In scene 3 she scornfully banters the chorus (590) for having doubted her report: and she ends with the terrible prayer, 'May he find a faithful wife, ay, even as he left her' (606).

In scene 4, when she meets her returning husband, she keeps up unflinchingly the part she is acting. She poses audaciously as the chaste matron who does not speak of her wifely love before others (856): laments the loneliness of her lot in her lord's absence (861): half withdraws the mask to jest about the reported wounds of Agamemnon (868), then enlarges on her tears and watchings (888): and describes her joy at his return in fulsome images (896). This masterly speech ends with the thrilling line 'That justice may lead him to an unlooked for home,' and an ambiguous promise that she will 'order aright what is fated' (910-12).

Then follows the effective irony of Agamemnon entering 'the human slaughter-house' over purple carpets.

After the next chorus she has a short scene (sc. 5) with the speechless Cassandra, showing herself as the contemptuous and pitiless tyrant (1055-1068).

In scene 6 the deed is done and she boasts of it, 'I stand where I struck the blow: the deed is done.' We observe her grim talk of decorum (!), which prevents her from pouring libations of triumph (1395), her total disregard of the opinions others have of her act, 'the blame or praise is all one to me' (1403), and her bitter triumph over Cassandra (1440), savouring characteristically far more of contempt than of jealousy.

In the *κομμός* her cold irony and hardness reaches a climax. She calls herself the Avenger of the House (1500): vents the fearful sarcasm about Iphigeneia mentioned above (1555): and ends with a calm resolve, as though she were the victim and not the criminal, to 'bear her troubles' and a wish for 'a quiet life and a humble competence!' (1574).

he last scene, true to herself, she just interposes at the end of the brawling between Aegisthos and the Chorus: 'We had enough of trouble,' and to lead off her lover, bidding at mind 'the vain howlings' of the chorus.

**Kassandra.** Cassandra is not strictly speaking a study of *character* at all: the interest comes from her situation, and the ordinary picturesqueness and impressiveness of the figure she presents. If the object of tragedy is to arouse 'pity and terror' there is no more supremely tragic figure than Cassandra in all Greek drama.

She comes on, silent and wild-glancing ('like a new-caught trout' 1063) in the car of Agamemnon. She is a princess, a priestess, and a captive. She sits motionless on the stage during the long scene between Agamemnon and Klytaemnestra (74), and the choric song (975-1034), and hears the queen's stentorlike scornful commands without a word of answer. When Klytaemnestra is gone, she replies to the kind and pitying tones of the chorus first with wild exclamations, then with cries of increasing slowly more articulate and clear, against the defiled house before her. Then the past deeds of blood follow before her in visions each more startling than the last, till the climax is reached in the terrible *ἰδοὺ ἰδοὺ ἄπρεχ' τῆς βοῆς τὸν ὄλον* (1125): after which she passes into tender and sad laments over her own fate. Then she sinks from the excited lyric dochmiac to 'clear prophecy' in the ordinary iambic metre, broken by spasms of inspiration. Next follows the splendid soliloquy in which she hurls to the ground the badges of her prophetic office, the sacred staff and chaplets; and finally, after one more prophecy of the Retribution of Orestes, she utters the sum of all laments over human destiny—

'Alas for mortal lot! when prosperous  
'tis but a sketch! and if misfortune comes,  
the wet sponge with its touch blots out the drawing;'

and she passes under the blood-stained portal to her death.

**Agamemnon.** Though the king gives his name to the play, though he is in one sense the central figure, he only appears in a short scene. But that suffices for the poet's purpose. Agamemnon is the victorious heroic monarch, returning in triumph to the house which is to be 'a human slaughter-house.'

and all that is wanted is what we have, the stately procession, the thanksgiving, the greeting interchanged with his wife, the natural Greek misgiving at the needless waste and display of the purple tapestries, and the royal graciousness with which after a brief resistance he gives way to Klytaemnestra's wish. The irony of the situation is brought fully out; even down to the minor touches, such as his bitter words about false friends (837) when he is thinking of the Greeks before Troy, and ignorant of the faithlessness of his wife: and again the almost pathetic futility of his pious caution in taking off his shoes (945), when at last he agrees to tread the purple.

**Aegisthos** is but the 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' (1224), or again, 'the wolf that mated with the lioness' (1259), as **Kassandra** calls him: or, in the rough vernacular of the chorus, 'a cock proud before his hen' (1671). He simply comes on to tell the tale of blood (1577), and to boast the deed he has not dared to do. He is an effective foil to the queen; especially at the very end, where **Aegisthos** blusters and threatens the chorus, whom **Klytaemnestra** treats with cold and distant scorn. 'Care not for the vain howls of these men: thou and I will rule the house and order it well.' In his case, as in the queen's, vengeance is given as the motive for his plot.

**The Watchman** forms an effective opening to the play, with the contrast between the rough and almost humorous homeliness of his speech and the terrible drama that impends: but enough is said of him in the notes, see 17.

**The Herald** performs the usual office of the ἄγγελος, varying the drama with a fine description of the shipwreck (650). His appearance also serves to heighten the suspense and darken the forebodings.

### THE CHORIC SONGS.

The full analysis of the choric songs will be found in the notes: but it is desirable to take a general view of them, in order to see their dramatic effect.

(1) 40-257. The chorus do not yet know the good news of the capture: and in this first song they tell the tale of the mustering of the fleet for Troy, the sign of the eagles and the hare, and the adverse gales, and the sacrifice of **Iphigeneia**. The opening thought is 'the gods are just, and must punish the sin

of Paris' (59 sqq.). But the hope is mixed with fear (100) and the refrain (121, 139, 159) echoes the mingled feelings. They cannot shake off the thought that the slaughter of the maiden must bring woe: 'it is a lawless sacrifice, a seed of strife' (152): 'the wrath remains terribly doomed to return' (155): Zeus 'teaches men by suffering' (176). And the whole description of the sacrifice (205-246) with its terrible pathos and beauty is meant to enhance the horror of the crime. The song ends with an awful foreboding, based on a sure belief in justice (250): the future is so dark that it is folly to look forward: 'too early knowledge is too early sorrow' (252).

A strain of deep faith runs through it all. 'Zeus is beyond compare' (163), and Retribution is sure.

(2) 355-487. The news has now come of the victory, and we expect a song of joy.

But the tone of the Chorus is again rather a praise of justice which punishes crime. It is the crime of Paris of which they speak chiefly: but one feels all through that there are other sins in the singer's mind which shall also be punished: and at the end there is a clear note of misgiving for Agamemnon on a new ground, it is because he has caused the death of so many warriors.

The description of the wrecked happiness of the home, where the wife has been faithless, and of the horrors of war, as shown in the slaughter of citizens and the consequent wide-spread mourning, are both written with a modern intensity and sympathy, which seem remarkably in advance of ordinary Greek sentiment; quite apart from their imperishable beauty.

(3) 681-809. The messenger has come and confirmed the tidings with details of the victory: but significantly the tale ends with disaster: the returning fleet was wrecked.

The Chorus again dwell on the Retribution to those who wronged Hospitality: the beauty of Helen (which is described in lines of unspeakable loveliness, 740-3) only brings into sharper contrast the curse which came with her: like a lion's whelp, a cherished plaything, growing into a ravager of flocks.

At the end is a remarkable passage, in which the poet repudiates the common Greek doctrine of *φθόνος*, which taught that man's prosperity roused the envy of the gods and so brought disaster. 'No,' says Aeschylus, 'it is not Prosperity, but always *sin*, violence, injustice that brings woe.'

Again the application is apparently to Paris: again we find that the sin of Agamemnon is present in the thought.

(4) 975-1034. The king has returned, been greeted, and entered the palace in triumph over the purple tapestry. The success is apparently complete.

The choric song is however one long foreboding of ill: a foreboding 'which they cannot explain, but cannot dismiss' (975-80). But the reason comes out: the sin is there, and so there is no safety. 'The black and murdered blood once shed who can recall?' (1019). They can only take refuge in vague and feeble hopes. One feels impending calamity in the very air.

(5) 1072-1177. In this astonishing scene we have the inspired Cassandra and her visions of past and impending deeds of blood. But this is fully explained in the notes, and the chorus has only a secondary part to play: and accordingly we may pass on.

(6) 1448-1576. The deed has been done: the foreboding is fulfilled, and the chorus in despair can only pray for death, and lament the woe that Helena caused. There is a Fate on the house (1467), it is the will of Heaven, of Zeus (1485): and when the queen urges that it is the requital for the murder of Iphigeneia (the very deed which the chorus all through had expected to bring woe) they can only express sad perplexity: the justice, if it be justice, will demand yet another victim: the blood is falling ever faster (1534). And they end with again striking the note of Justice: 'it is the will of God that the doer shall suffer' (1563).

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The MSS. which contain the *Agamemnon*, the whole or part, are as follows:—

1. M. Much the oldest and most important is the *Medicean*, in the library of Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence, written on parchment in the 10th or 11th century; a facsimile of this has been published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, 1871. The MS. contains *Agamemnon* 1-310, and 1067-1159, the middle and end of the play being lost.

2. G. *Guelferbytanus*, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the 15th century, contains the same parts of the *Agamemnon* as M., of which it is clearly a copy. Dindorf calls it 'a most faulty manuscript.'

of *Par.* *Ma. Marcianus* (once in the monastery of San Marco), now the Library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on silk in the 15th century, also clearly a copy of *M.*, containing the same parts of the play.

4. *B. Bessarionis*, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on paper about the 13th century, containing *Ag.* 1-348: probably a copy of *M.* before the loss of the central leaves (*Moritz Haupt*, preface to *Hermann*, 1859).

The above four are practically not independent authorities.

5. *V. The Venetian (Venetus B)*, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on parchment in the 13th century, containing *Ag.* 1-45, and 1095 to end.

6. *Fl. Florentinus*, in the library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on paper in the 14th century, containing *Agamemnon* entire.

7. *Fa. Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the Museum at Naples, written in the 14th century. It contains the revision of *Demetrius Triclinius*, who has done a good deal in the way of emendation, though often erroneously.

It will perhaps be useful to put these facts about the MSS. in a tabular form as under:—

Name.	Sign.	Contents.	Place.	Century.	Remarks.
Mediceus	M.	{ 1-311, 1067-1159 }	Florence	10 or 11	Clearly copies of <i>M.</i> Prob. copied from <i>M.</i> before loss of leaves.
Guelferbytanus	G.	do.	Wolfbtl.	15	
Marcianus	Ma.	do.	Florence	15	
Bessarionis	B.	1-348	Venice	13	
Venetus	V.	{ 1-45. 1095-end }	Venice	13	
Florentinus	Fl.	all	Florence	14	
Farnesianus	Fa.	all	Naples	14	

The following table shows what MS. authority there is for each part of the play:—

1-45	...M. G. Ma. B. V. Fl. Fa.
46-311	...M. G. Ma. B. Fl. Fa.
312-348	...B. Fl. Fa.
349-1066	...Fl. Fa.
1067-1094	...M. G. Ma. Fl. Fa.
1095-1159	...M. G. Ma. V. Fl. Fa.
1160-end	...V. Fl. Fa.

## THE EDITIONS.

The editions of the *Agamemnon* have been extremely numerous, and the text, which in the MSS. is very corrupt and has often suffered from hasty emendation, has been gradually improved by a perfect host of scholars. There still remain however many places where the true reading is very doubtful, and a few which seem hopeless.

The following are the principal editors and correctors: those who have been consulted or quoted are given with the abbreviations used:—

<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	
	1518	Aldine.	{ These give only the fragments of Ag., which are found in M and G. The play is confused with the <i>Choëphoroe</i> .
	1552	Turnèbe, Paris.	
Rob.	1552	Robortelli, Venice.	{ This gives the same fragments, but separate.
Vict.	1557	Victorius. This is the first ed. which gives Ag. whole.	
Cant.	1580	Canter, Antwerp.	
Stanl.	1663	Stanley, London.	
	1745	Pauw, Hague.	
Ask.	1746	Askew, Leyden.	
Schütz.	1784	Schütz, Halle.	
Pors.	1794	Porson.	
Butl.	1809	Butler.	
Blom.	1822	Blomfield, Cambridge.	
Tyrr.	1822	Tyrrwhitt (published by Elmsley), Oxford.	
Well.	1823	Wellauer, Leipzig.	
Schol.	1830	Scholefield, Cambridge.	
Klaus.	1833	Klausen, Gotha.	
Con.	1848	Conington, Oxford.	
Dind. D.	1851	Dindorf, Oxford.	
Hart.	1852	Hartung, Leipzig.	
Schöm.	1854	Schömann, Gryphiswald.	
Karst.	1855	Karsten, Traj. ad. Rhen.	
Pal. or P.	1855-79	Paley, London.	
Eng.	1855	Enger, Leipzig.	
Schn.	• 1856	Schneidewin, Berlin.	
H.	1859	Hermann, Berlin.	
Weil.	1861	Weil, Giessa.	
Keck.	1863	Keck, Leipzig.	
	1864	Van Heusde, Hague.	
Gilb.	1874	Gilbert (edited Enger).	
K.	1878	Kennedy, Cambridge.	



Besides these, the following have contributed emendations :—

Aur.	Auratus.	Heath.	Heath.
Cas.	Is. Casaubon.	Franz.	Franz.
Scal.	Scaliger.	Musgr.	Musgrave.
Ahr.	Ahrens.	Madv.	Madvig.
Dobr.	Dobree.	Both.	Bothe.

I use the common abbreviation L. S. for Liddell and Scott.

### THE TEXT.

In the text I have aimed at giving (at the foot of the pages) the MSS. reading of all the doubtful places, where the MSS. differ among themselves, or are all wrong; except in the numerous instances where the corrections are quite obvious and generally accepted; and even of these latter I have given all which can be called important. The MSS. are very corrupt, and the number of such small but necessary corrections is very much greater than any one would suppose who had not studied the full apparatus criticus of the play.

Where the reading adopted occurs in any of the MSS. and any other MS. differs, and the question is doubtful or important, the readings are given in a note at the bottom of the text, but there is no mark in the text.

Where the reading adopted is conjectural, and appears in no MS., it is marked with an asterisk, the MS. reading (or readings) given in the note, and usually the corrector or editor, to whom the emendation is due, named. Thus, line 69, *in the text*, \*ὑποκαίων: *in the note*, ὑποκλαίων MSS. corr. Cas. i. e. 'the manuscripts read ὑποκαίων; the correction in the text is due to Casaubon.'

Where neither MSS. nor proposed readings are satisfactory, the passage is marked with †. Thus line 14, †ἐμήν.

I have thought it better to show the variations from the MSS. than to adopt the custom in many recent German editions of basing the text on Hermann. Great, or rather infinite, as are the obligations of students to Hermann, it is clearly more convenient to know the MSS. readings than only Hermann's recension of them.

## TRANSLATIONS.

The *Agamemnon* has been done into English in nearly a score of translations. Those which I have consulted, and occasionally taken the liberty to quote, are the following; I give the abbreviations in italics, by which they are quoted in my notes:—

Professor Conington (*Con.*).

Miss Swanwick (*Swan.*).

Dean Milman (*Mil.*).

Mr. R. Browning (*Br.*).

Professor Kennedy (*Ken.*).

Mr. E. D. A. Morshead (*Mors.*).

The last is the one to which I owe most.



# ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

## Α ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

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ΦΥΛΑΞ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ.

ΚΑΤΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑ.

ΤΑΛΕΥΒΙΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

### ΦΥΛΑΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων,  
φρουρᾶς ἑτέας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος  
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,  
ἄστρον κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν,  
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 5  
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι·  
[ἀστέρας, ὅτα φθίνωσιν, ἀντολὰς τε τῶν·]  
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,  
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσιν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν,  
ἀλώσιμόν τε βάζειν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 10  
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ.  
εὖτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ξυδροσόν τ' ἔχω  
εὐνὴν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπυμένην  
† ἐμήν,—φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,  
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ— 15  
ὅταν δ' ἀεῖδειν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δσκῶ,  
ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,  
κλαίω τότε οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,  
οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένον.  
νῦν δ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20  
εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.

7. Probably spurious.

17. ἐκτέμνων V. Fl.

ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον  
φάος πιφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν  
πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.  
λοῦ λοῦ.

25

Ἄγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς,  
εὐνῆς ἐπαντεῖλασαν ὥς τάχος δόμοις  
ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι  
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἴλιου πόλις  
ἐάλωκεν, ὥς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει·  
αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι.  
τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι  
τρίς ἕξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.  
γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῇ χέρα  
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερσί.  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βούς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας  
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,  
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ  
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ, κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

30

35

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου  
μέγας ἀντίδικος,  
Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἦδ' Ἄγαμέμνων,  
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου  
τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν ζεύγος Ἀτρειδᾶν,  
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν  
τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας  
ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἄρωγῇν,  
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη,

40

45

τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν,  
 οἷτ' ἐκπαλίοις ἄλγεσι παίδων 50  
 ὕπατοι λεχέων στροφιδινοῦνται,  
 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,  
 δεμνιοτήρη  
 πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες·  
 ὕπατος δ' ἄτων ἦ τις Ἀπόλλων, 55  
 ἦ Πάν, ἦ Ζεὺς, οἰωνόθροον  
 γόον ὀξυβόαν τῶνδε μετοίκων  
 ὑστερόποινον  
 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινύν.  
 οὔτω δ' Ἀτρείως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων 60  
 ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος  
 Ζεὺς, πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικός,  
 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῇ,  
 γόνατος κούλαισιν ἐρειδομένον  
 διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις 65  
 κάμακος, θήσων Δαναοῖσι  
 Τρῳσί θ' ὁμοίως. ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν  
 ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·  
 οὔθ' \*ὑποκαίων οὔθ' ὑπολείβων  
 οὔτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν 70  
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ  
 τῆς τότε ἀρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες  
 μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν  
 ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις. 75  
 ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων  
 ἐντὸς \*ἀνάσσω  
 ἰσόπρεσβυς, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἔνι χώρα,



\*τό θ' ὑπεργήρων φυλλάδος ἤδη  
 κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοὺς 80  
 στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων  
 ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει.  
 οἱ δέ, Τυνδάρω  
 θύγατερ, βασιλεία Κλυταιμνήστρα,  
 τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη, 85  
 τίνος ἀγγελίας  
 \* πευθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς;  
 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,  
 ὑπάτων, χθονίων,  
 τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων, 90  
 βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται·  
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης  
 λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,  
 φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ  
 μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, 95  
 πελάνφ' μυχόθεν βασιλείφ.  
 τούτων λέξας' ὃ τι καὶ δυνατόν  
 καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,  
 παιῶν τε γενοῦ τῇσδε μερίμνης,  
 ἧ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει, 100  
 τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'  
 ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον  
 \* τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης. [στρ. α'.  
 κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον κράτος αἷσιον ἀνδρῶν  
 ἐκτελέων. ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει 105

79. τίθιπεργήρας M.G. τίθι περ γήρας Ma. τόθι περγήρας B.  
 τόθιπερ γήρας Fl. τόθ' ὑπεργήρων Fa. 87. πυθοῖ Fl. πειθοῖ cet.  
 θυοσκινεῖς MSS. κοπ. Aug. 101. φαίνεις M.G. φαίνει B. φαί-  
 νουσ' Fl. Fa. 103. τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα M.G. B. τὴν  
 θυμοβόρον λυποφρένα Fa. τὴν θυμοβόρον λύπης φρένα Fl.

πειθῶ, \* μολπᾶν .  
 ἄλκάν, σύμφυτος αἰῶν,  
 ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δῖθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἦβας  
 ξύμφρονα τάγαν, 110  
 πέμπει ξὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι  
 θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν, ὁ κελαινός, ὃ τ'  
 ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς, 115  
 φανέντες ἵκταρ μελάθρων, χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου,  
 παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισι,  
 βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν, ἐρικύμονα \* φέρματα, γένναν,  
 βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων. 120  
 αἴλιον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω. [ἀντ. α'.  
 κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο \* λήμασιν ἴσους  
 Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας  
 πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·  
 οὕτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων· 125  
 χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος,  
 πάντα δὲ πύργων  
 κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοιπληθῇ  
 Μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βλαιν. 130  
 οἶον μή τις \* ἄγα θεόθεν κνεφάση προτυπὲν στόμιον  
 μέγα Τροίας  
 στρατωθέν. \* οἰκτφ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ  
 πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρός, 136  
 αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισι·  
 στυγεί δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.  
 αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.  
 τόσον περ εὖφρων, καλά, μεσφδ. 140

106. πειθοῖ Campbell. μολπᾶν MSS. 118. ἐρικύματα φέρματι  
 M.G. ἐρικύμονα φέρματι B. ἐρικύμονα φέρβοντο Fl. Fa. 122.  
 λήμασι δισσοῦς MSS. 131. ἄτα MSS. corr. H. 135. οἰκφ MSS.  
 corr. Schöm. 140. ἀ καλὰ Fa.

σι λέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων,  
 τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 βρικόλοισι τερπνά,  
 \* αἶνει ξύμβολα κράναι,  
 ἔν, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα [στρουθῶν]. 145  
 καλέω Παιῶνα,  
 ἰ ἀντιπνύουσ Δαναοῖς χροῦλας ἐχενῆδας  
 τεύξῃ, 150  
 ἓνα θυσίαν ἑτέραν, ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον,  
 τέκτονα σύμφυτον,  
 ἵν' οῖα. μίμνει γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος,  
 εἰ δολία, μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος. 155  
 ἰάλας ξὺν μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξε  
 ἀπ' ὀρυίθων ὀδίω οἴκοις βασιλείοις  
 ὁμόφωνον  
 αἶλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.  
 τις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ- στρ. β'. 160  
 ν κεκλημένῳ,  
 ν προσεννέπω.  
 προσεικάσαι,  
 ἵσταθμώμενος,  
 ὅς, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος 165  
 εἶν ἐτητύμως.  
 ἰς πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, ἀντ. β'.  
 ἰ θράσει βρύων,  
 ἔξεται πρὶν ὧν, 170  
 εἰτ' ἔφν, τρια-  
 ἰχεται τυχών.

τοῖς B. Fl. ἀέπτοις M.G. ἀέπτοισι Fa. corr. Well.  
 Fl. 144. αἰτέι MSS. corr. Gilbert. 170. οὐδὲν λέξαι  
 οὐδὲν τι λέξαι Fa. corr. Ahrens.

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
 τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν 175  
 τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ- στρ. γ'.  
 σαντα, \* τὸν πάθει μάθος  
 θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.  
 στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας  
 μνησιπήμων πόνος· καὶ παρ' ἄ- 180  
 κοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.  
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις \* βίαιος,  
 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.  
 καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέσ- ἀντ. γ'.  
 βυς νεῶν Ἀχαιϊκῶν, 185  
 μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,  
 ἐμπαλοῖς τύχαισι συμπνέων,  
 εὖτ' ἀπλοῖα κεναγγεῖ βαρύ-  
 νοντ' Ἀχαιϊκὸς λεῶς,  
 Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρόχ- 190  
 θοῖς ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις,  
 πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι στρ. δ'.  
 κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσσορμοι  
 βροτῶν ἄλαι, νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς, 195  
 παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθείσαι  
 τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄνθος \* Ἄργους  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πικροῦ  
 χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ  
 βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν  
 μάντις ἐκλαγξεν, προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βά-  
 κτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρεΐδας δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν.  
 ἀναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς \* τότ' εἶπε φωνῶν ἀντ. δ'. 205

177. τῶ MSS.  
 γείων MSS. corr. H.

182. βιαίως MSS. corr. Schöm.  
 205. τόδ' MSS. corr. Stanl.

197. Ἄρ-

κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,  
 εἰ τέκνον δαίξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,  
 ἱρθενοσφάγοισι  
 ἱτρώους χέρας \*πρὸ βωμοῦ. 210  
 νευ κακῶν ;  
 κὺς γένωμαι,  
 ἁμαρτῶν ;  
 γὰρ θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀρ-  
 γῇ σφ' ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη. 216  
 ἱγκας ἔδν λέπαδνον, στρ. ε'.  
 ὧν δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν  
 νίερον, τόθεν 220  
 λμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.  
 ἱρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρομήτις  
 ρακοπὰ  
 ν. ἔτλα δ' οὖν  
 ἔσθαι θυγατρὸς γυναικοποίνων πολέμων  
 ν 225  
 εἰα ναῶν·  
 ἡ κληδόνας πατρώους ἀντ. ε'.  
 αἰῶνα παρθένειόν τ'  
 ἱμαχοὶ βραβῆς, 230  
 ἰόζοις πατῆρ μετ' εὐχάν,  
 ρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ  
 ἐριπετῇ,  
 προνωπῇ 234  
 δην, στόματός τε καλλιπρώρου \*φυλακῇ  
 εἶν  
 αἶον οἴκοις,

πέλας MSS. corr. Schöm. 212. τε γένωμαι M. G. Fl.  
 MSS. corr. Schöm. 222. βροτοῖς MSS. 235.

βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει. στρ. 5'.  
 κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα  
 ἔβαλλ' ἑκαστον θυτήρων ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει φιλοίκτη, 240  
 πρέπουσά θ' ὥς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν  
 θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις  
 πατὴρ κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους  
 ἔμελψεν, \* ἀγνῶ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδῶ πατρός  
 φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμον 245  
 \* παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.  
 τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὔτ' εἶδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω· ἀντ. 5'.  
 τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.  
 δίκαι δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει· τὸ  
 μέλλον \* δ' 250  
 ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις, \* πρὸ χαιρέτω·  
 ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν.  
 τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει \* σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.  
 πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰπὶ τούτοισιν εὐπραξίς, ὥς 255  
 θέλει τόδ' ἀγχιστον Ἀπίας  
 γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.  
 ἦκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμνήστρα, κράτος·  
 δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τέλει  
 γυναικ' ἐρῆμωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου. 260  
 σὺ δ' \* εἴ τι κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη  
 εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,  
 κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶση φθόνος.

## ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑ.

εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 244. ἀγνῶ MSS. corr. Schütz.      | 246. αἰῶνα MSS. corr. Hart.     |
| 250. τὸ δὲ προκλύειν after μέλλον | B. Fl. G. and M. by later hand. |
| 251. προχαίρετω MSS. corr. Eng.   | 254. συνορθὸν αὐταῖς G. B. M.   |
| σύνναρθρον Fl. Fa. corr. Well. H. | 261. εἴτε MSS.                  |

- ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα. 265  
 πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν.  
 Πριάμου γὰρ ἡρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσαν ἢ τορῶς λέγω;  
 ΧΟ. χαρὰ μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη. 270  
 ΚΛ. εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
 ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδ' εἰ σοι τέκμαρ;  
 ΚΛ. ἔστιν, τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.  
 ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπειθὴ σέβεις;  
 ΚΛ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός. 275  
 ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἢ σ' ἐπιδέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;  
 ΚΛ. παιδὸς νέας ὥς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.  
 ΧΟ. πόλου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;  
 ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.  
 ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος; 280  
 ΚΛ. Ἥφαιστος Ἰδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.  
 φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς  
 ἔπεμπεν Ἰδὴ μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας  
 Λήμνον μέγα δὲ πανδὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον  
 Ἀθῶν αἵπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο, 285  
 ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι,  
 † ἰσχυρὸς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν  
 \* πέμπει τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὥς τις ἥλιος  
 σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου \* σκοπαῖς†  
 ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνῳ 290  
 νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·  
 ἐκὰς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ῥοὰς  
 Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν.  
 οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω

282. ἀγγέλου MSS. 288. πεύκη MSS. πέμπει Eng. προῦκειτο  
 Κ. ἐπέσυτο Keck. 289. σκοπὰς MSS.

γραίας <sup>ἐ</sup>ρείκης θωμὸν ἄψαντες πυρί. 295  
 σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη,  
 ὑπερθορούσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην  
 φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας  
 ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.  
 φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠνάλνετο 300  
 φρουρά, † πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·  
 λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος·  
 ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον  
 ὠτρυνε θεσμὸν \* μὴ χατίζεσθαι πυρός.  
 πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαλόντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει 305  
 φλογὸς μέγαν πύγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ \* κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω  
 φλέγουσαν, \* ἔστ' ἔσκηψεν, \* εὐτ' ἀφίκετο  
 Ἀραχναίου αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκεπᾶς·  
 κᾶπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος 310  
 φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.  
 τοιοῦδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,  
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι·  
 νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.  
 τέκμαρ τοιοῦτο ξύμβολόν τε σοὶ λέγω, 315  
 ἀνδρὸς παραγγέλαιτος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.  
 XO. θεοῖς μὲν αὖθις, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι.  
 λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κάποθανυμάσαι  
 διηνεκῶς θέλουμι· ἂν ὥς λέγοις πάλιν.  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. 320  
 οἶμαι βοὴν ἄμικτον ἐν πάλει πρέπειν.  
 ὄξος τ' ἀλειφά τ' ἐγχείας ταὐτῳ κύτει  
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.

301. sic MSS. 304. δὴ χαρίζεσθαι Fa. μὴ χαρίζεσθαι M.G.B.  
 Fl. 307. κάτοπτρον MSS. 308. εἴτ' . . . εἴτ' MSS. 319. λέγεις B.



καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα  
 φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἐστὶ συμφορᾶς διπλῆς. 325  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
 ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων  
 παῖδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου  
 δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον·  
 τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος 330  
 νήστεις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις  
 τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον.  
 ἐν δ' αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι  
 ναλοῦσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων 335  
 δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέυτες, ὥς \*δ' εὐδαίμονες  
 ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.  
 εἰ δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολιισούχους θεοὺς  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,  
 οὗ \*τᾶν ἐλόντες αὐθις \*ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν. 340  
 ἔρως δὲ μὴ τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ  
 πορθεῖν ἢ μὴ χρή, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.  
 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστή<sup>ει</sup>μου σωτηρίας  
 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν·  
 θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκτης εἰ μόλοι στρατός, 345  
 ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
 γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.  
 τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις·  
 τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίῃ, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.  
 πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν \*τὴνδ' ὄνησιν εἰλόμην· 350  
 XO. γύναι, κατ' ἀνδρα σῶφρον· εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστὰ σου τεκμήρια

331. νήστισι B. νήστις Fl. 336. δυσδαίμονες MSS. 340. ἄν  
 γ' ἐλόντες or ἀνελόντες and ἄν θάνοιεν or αὐ θάνοιεν MSS. corr. Aur. H.  
 341. ἐμπίπτει B. -οι Fa. -η corrected to -η Fl. 350. τὴν MSS.

θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι.  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἶργασται πόνων.  
 ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νύξ φιλία 355  
 μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,  
 ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες  
 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὥς μήτε μέγαν  
 μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι  
 μέγα δουλείας 360  
 γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.  
 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
 τὸν τάδε πράξαντ', ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
 μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρων 365  
 βέλος ἡλίθιον σκῆψιεν.  
 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν,  
 πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεῦσαι.  
 \* ἔπραξαν ὥς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις  
 θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν 370  
 ὅσοις ἀθλίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ'· ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής.  
 πέφανται δ' \* ἐκτίνου-  
 σα τόλμα τῶν Ἄρη 375  
 πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,  
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-  
 μαντον, ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν  
 εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα 380  
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπαλξίς

368. πάρεστι MSS. πάρεστιν Eng. 369. ὥς ἔπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν  
 MSS. corr. Franz. 374. ἐγγόνους ἀτολήμων MSS. ἐκγόνοις ἀτολ-  
 μήτων H. text Hart. 379. ὥστε ἀπαρκεῖν Fa. text Fl.

πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ  
 ντι μέγαν δίκας βωμόν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.  
 ἵ' ἂ τάλαινα πειθώ, ἀντ. α'. 385  
 ἵλου παῖς ἄφερτος ἄτας.  
 πᾶν μάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,  
 ἰέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·  
 ἡ χαλκοῦ τρόπον 390  
 ε καὶ προσβολαῖς  
 γῆς πέλει  
 ἰς, ἐπεὶ  
 αῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,  
 ῥόστριμμ' ἄφερτον ἐνθείς. 395  
 ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν·  
 πίστροφον \* τῶν  
 ἰκον καθαιρεῖ.  
 Πάρις ἐλθὼν  
 ἵ τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν 400  
 ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.  
 δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστοράς στρ. β'.  
 κλόνους λογχίμους ναυβάτας \* θ' ὀπλισμούς,  
 ῥ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλῖφ φθοράν, 406  
 ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,  
 ἡλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον  
 ἵποντες δόμων προφήται·  
 ἵμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι, 410  
 καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες.  
 τι σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους  
 ῥ' ἀφειμένων ἰδεῖν.†

θουλόπαις MSS. corr. Hart. 397. τῶνδ' MSS. corr. Klaus.  
 ἰς λογχίμους τε καὶ MSS. omit θ' MSS. corr. H. 412.  
 ὅς ἀλοιδορὸς ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων MSS. corr. H.

πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας  
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν. 415  
 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρῶν.  
 ὁμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶς Ἀφροδίτα.  
 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες ἀντ. β'. 420  
 πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν.  
 μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν \* ὄρᾱ,  
 παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν,  
 βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον 425  
 πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.  
 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ  
 τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.  
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' \* Ἑλλανος αἴας συνορμένοις  
 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος 430  
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει.  
 πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ  
 οὗς μὲν γάρ \* τις ἔπεμψεν  
 οἴδεν· ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν  
 τεύχῃ καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκάστου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.  
 ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἀρης σωματῶν στρ. γ'. 436  
 καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς  
 πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου 440  
 φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ  
 ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-  
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-  
 ζων λέβητας \* εὐθέτους.  
 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα τὸν μὲν ὧς 445

423. ὄρᾱν MSS. ὄρᾱ Eng. K.  
 Ἑλλάδος MSS. corr. Eng. (H).  
 444. εὐθέτου MSS. corr. Stan.

426. ὀπαδοῦς Dobr. 429.  
 433. τις om. MSS. corr. Pors.





ἰς· τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'  
 \* διαὶ γυναικός· \* τὰ δὲ σίγά τις βαῦ-  
 ερόν· δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει προδίκους· Ἀτρεΐδαις.  
 ὦ περὶ τεύχος 450  
 ἄδος γὰς  
 κατέχουσιν· ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυσεν.  
 ἀστῶν φάτις ξὺν κότῳ· ἀντ. γ'. 456  
 ου· δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.  
 κοῦσαί τί μου  
 υκτηρεφές. 460  
 ετόνων γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἰεοί· κελαι-  
 μνύες χρόνῳ·  
 ἔντ' ἄνευ δίκας παλιντυχεῖ  
 υ τιθείσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' ἀτ- 465  
 λέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά· τὸ δ' \* ὑπερκόπως  
 υ  
 βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις διόθεν κεραυνός. 470  
 ἰφθονον ὄλβον.  
 πτολιπόρθης  
 αὐτὸς ἀλούς ὑπ' ἄλλων βίον κατίδοιμι.  
 ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου ἐπῳδ. 475  
 κει θοὰ  
 δ' ἐτητύμως,  
 ἥ \* τι θεῖόν ἐστὶ \* πη ψύθος.  
 αἰδνὸς ἥ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,  
 αραγγέλμασιν 480  
 ὠθέντα καρδίαν, ἔπειτ'  
 λόγου καμεῖν ;

MSS. τάδε MSS. corr. H. 467. ὑπερκότως MSS.  
 .μη MSS. corr. Ahr. 482. λόγους Fl. text Fa.

γυναικὸς αἰχμῇ πρέπει,  
 πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.  
 πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται 485  
 ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον  
 γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλυται κλέος.  
 τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς, 490  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.  
 κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὄρῳ κατάσκιον  
 κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
 πῆλου ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 495  
 ὥς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα  
 ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων  
 τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·  
 εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. 500  
 δοστις τὰδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,  
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

## ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ἰὼ πατρώων οὐδας Ἀργείας χθονός,  
 δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμεν ἔτους,  
 πολλῶν <sup>καὶ ἀνδρῶν</sup> ῥαγιστῶν ἐλπιδῶν μιᾶς τυχών. 505  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠὔχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ  
 θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.  
 νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἄναξ, <sup>ὁ Ζεὺς</sup>  
 τόξοις λάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη· 510



αἰς παρὰ Σκάμανδρον \* ἦσθ' ἀνάρσιος·  
 ν δ' αὖτε σωτὴρ ἴσθι \* καὶ παιώνιος,  
 αἶξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς  
 ἴντας προσανδῶ, τόν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον  
 ρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, 515  
 ὡς τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν  
 ῥατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.  
 μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,  
 μνοὶ τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι,  
 εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασι 520  
 ξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῷ χρόνῳ.  
 εἰ γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
 ἰ τοῖσδ' ἅπασιν κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ.  
 λ' εὖ νιν ἀσπᾶσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
 ἰόαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 525  
 ἰὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.  
 ὁμοὶ δ' αἰστοὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα,  
 ἰ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.  
 ἰόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
 αἶξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ 530  
 εἰ, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν  
 ἰν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε σύντελῆς πόλις  
 εὐχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.  
 ἰλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην  
 ὕ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον 535  
 τόχθονον πατρώον ἔθρισεν δόμον.  
 πλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.  
 ρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαῖρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.  
 ἰρω \* γε· τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.

λθες Fa. ἦλθ', with -es superscribed Fl. 512. καὶ παγώ-  
 κάπαγώνιος Fa. corr. Dobr. Ahr. 520. ἦπου MSS. 539-  
 εθνᾶναι MSS. corr. Eng.

- ΧΟ. ἔρως πατρώας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν ; 540  
 ΚΗ. ὦστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.  
 ΧΟ. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.  
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ ; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.  
 ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ \* πεπληγμένοι.  
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις ; 545  
 ΧΟ. ὥς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός μ' ἀναστένειν.  
 ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στύγος \* φρενῶν ;  
 ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.  
 ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς ; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς ;  
 ΧΟ. \* ὥς νῦν τὸ σὸν δῆ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὰ χάρις. 550  
 ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
 τὰ μὲν τις \* ἂν λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα. τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν  
 ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον ;  
 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανθίας, 555  
 σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ  
 στένουντες, οὐ † λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος ;  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ καὶ προσῆν, πλέου στύγος·  
 εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δαίτων πρὸς τείχεσιν·  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώναι 560  
 † ὁρόσοι κατεψάκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος  
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα.  
 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,  
 οἶον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιῶν,  
 ἧ θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 565  
 κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὐδοὶ πείσων·  
 τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ ; παροίχεται πόνος·

541. ἐκδ. Fa. 542. ἴστε Fl. 544. πεπληγμένος MSS. 547.  
 στρατῷ MSS. corrupt. φρενῶν H. 550. ὦν MSS. corr. Scal.  
 552. εὖ MSS. 557. λαχόντες corrupt. Perhaps πάσχοντες or  
 κλαίοντες.

παροίχεται δέ, τοῖσι μὲν τεθυηκόσιν  
 τὸ μήποτ' αὔθις μῆδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν.  
 τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῃ λέγειν, 570  
 τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου ;  
 καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν ξυμφοραῖς καταξιῶ.  
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει. ✓  
 ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει, 575  
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις·  
 Τροίαν ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίου γένος.  
 τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν 580  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται  
 Διὸς τὸδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. νικῶμενος λόγῳσιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.  
 αἶψά γάρ ἢ βῆ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.  
 δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταμνήστρᾳ μέλειν 585  
 εἰκὸς μάλιστα, ξὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ἔπο,  
 ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,  
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.  
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνὶ πύλῳ εἶπε, φρυκτωρῶν δῖα 590  
 πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς ;  
 ἢ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἰρεσθαι κέαρ.  
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτός οὖσ' ἐφαινόμην.  
 ὅμως δ' ἔθνουν· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν 595  
 ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες, ἐν θεῶν ἑδραῖς  
 θνητάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.  
 καὶ νῦν τὰ μᾶσσω μὲν τί δεῖ σ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν ;  
 ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.

ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν 600  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι—τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ σῶσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι ;—ταῦτ' ἀπάγγελιον πόσει·  
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει. 605

γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν  
 οἶαν περ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα  
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῃ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,  
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον  
 οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου. 610  
 οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν  
 ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.  
 τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων  
 οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ὥς γυναικὶ γεναῖα λακεῖν.

ΧΟ. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μαυθάνοντί σοι 615  
 τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.  
 σὺ δ' εἶπέ, κῆρυξ, Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι,  
 εἰ νόστιμός γε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν  
 ἦξει ξὺν ὑμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.

ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ 620  
 ἐς τὸν πολλὸν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῇ \* τύχοις ;

ΚΗ. ἀνὴρ ἀφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαιϊκοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. σὺ ψευδῆ λέγω. 625

ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου,  
 ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἥρπασε στρατοῦ ;

ΚΗ. ἔκურσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·

τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα  
 οὔ γὰρ ἀκούειν ἐστὶ συμφορᾶς διπλῆς. 325  
 μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
 ἱρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων  
 ἴδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου  
 ἧς ἀποιμῶζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον·  
 οἷς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος 330  
 πτεῖς πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις  
 τσαι, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,  
 λ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον.  
 δ' αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι  
 ἴουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων 335  
 ἴσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες, ὥς \*δ' εὐδαίμονες  
 ὕλακτον εὐδῆσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.  
 δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς  
 οὗς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,  
 \*τᾶν ἐλόντες αὖθις \*ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν. 340  
 οὗς δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ  
 ρθεῖν ἢ μὴ χρή, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.  
 ἵ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμονι σωτηρίας  
 μῦσαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν·  
 οἷς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός, 345  
 ρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
 νοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.  
 ἑαυτὰ τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις·  
 δ' εὖ κρατοίῃ, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.  
 ἀλλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν \*τήνδ' ὀνήσιν εἰλόμην· 350  
 ἵναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
 ὦ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια

ἡστισι B. νῆστis Fl. 336. δυσδαίμονες MSS. 340. ἄν  
 or ἀνελόντες and ἄν θάνοιεν or αὐ θάνοιεν MSS. corr. Aur. H.  
 ἵπτει B. -οι Fa. -η corrected to -η Fl. 350. τὴν MSS.

θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι.  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἶργασται πόνων.  
 ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νύξ φιλία 355  
 μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,  
 ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες  
 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὥς μήτε μέγαν  
 μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι  
 μέγα δουλείας 360  
 γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.  
 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
 τὸν τάδε πράξαντ', ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 τείνουτα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
 μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρων 365  
 βέλος ἡλίθιον σκήψειεν.  
 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν,  
 πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεύσαι.  
 \* ἔπραξαν ὥς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις  
 θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν 370  
 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ'· ὁ δ' οὐκ εὖσεβής.  
 πέφανται δ' \* ἐκτίνου-  
 σα τόλμα τῶν Ἄρη 375  
 πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,  
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-  
 μαντον, ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν  
 εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα 380  
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἑπαλξίς

368. πάρεστι MSS. πάρεστιν Eng. 369. ὥς ἔπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν  
 MSS. corr. Franz. 374. ἐγγόνους ἀτολήτων MSS. ἐκγόνοις ἀτολ-  
 μήτων H. text Hart. 379. ὥστε ἀπαρκεῖν Fa. text Fl.

πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ  
 λακτίσαντι μέγαν δίκας βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.  
 βιᾶται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πειθῶ, ἀντ. α'. 385  
 \*προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος ἄτας.  
 ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,  
 πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·  
 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον 390  
 τρίβῃ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς  
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει  
 δικαιοθείς, ἐπεὶ  
 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,  
 πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερτον ἐνθείς. 395  
 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν·  
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον \*τῶν  
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.  
 οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν  
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν 400  
 ἥσχυνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.  
 λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστοράς στρ. β'.  
 \*τε καὶ κλόνους λογχίμους ναυβάτας \*θ' ὀπλισμούς,  
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἴλιφ φθοράν, 406  
 βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,  
 ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον  
 τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι, 410  
 ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες.  
 †\*πᾶρεστι σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους  
 \*αἰσχιστ' ἀφειμένων ἰδεῖν.†

386. προβουλόπαις MSS. corr. Hart. 397. τῶνδ' MSS. corr. Klaus.  
 405. κλόνους λογχίμους τε καὶ MSS. omit θ' MSS. corr. H. 412.  
 σιγᾶς' ἀτιμος ἀλοιδωρος ἀδιστος ἀφεμένω MSS. corr. H.

πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας  
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν. 415  
 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί.  
 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνύαις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.  
 ὄνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες ἀντ. β'. 420  
 πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν.  
 μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν \* ὄρᾱ,  
 παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν,  
 βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύτερον 425  
 πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.  
 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ  
 τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.  
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' \* Ἑλλανος αἴας συνορμένοις  
 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος 430  
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει.  
 πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ  
 οὓς μὲν γάρ \* τις ἐπεμψεν  
 οἶδεν· ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν  
 τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκάστου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.  
 ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἀρης σωματῶν στρ. γ'. 436  
 καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς  
 πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου 440  
 φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺν  
 ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-  
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-  
 ζων λέβητας \* εὐθέτους.  
 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα τὸν μὲν ὥς 445

423. ὄρᾱν MSS. ὄρᾱ Eng. K.  
 Ἑλλάδος MSS. corr. Eng. (H).  
 444. εὐθέτου MSS. corr. Stan.

436. ὀπαδοῦς Dobr. 429.  
 433. τις om. MSS. corr. Pors.



σ· τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'  
 \* διαλ γυναικός· \* τὰ δὲ σίγά τις βαῦ-  
 ρὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει προδίοις· Ἀτρεΐδαις.  
 ὦ περὶ τείχος 450  
 ἴδος γὰρ  
 ατέχουσιν· ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.  
 ἀστῶν φάτις ξὺν κότῳ· ἀντ. γ'. 456  
 ν δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.  
 κοῦσαί τί μου  
 κτηρεφές. 460  
 τόνων γὰρ οὐκ  
 εοί· κελαι-  
 νύες χρόνῳ·  
 π' ἄνευ δίκας παλιντυχεῖ  
 , τιθείσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἰ- 465  
 έθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά· τὸ δ' \* ὑπερκόπως  
 ν  
 βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις διόθεν κεραυνός. 470  
 φθονον ὄλβον.  
 πτολιπόρθης  
 κῦτος ἀλούς ὑπ' ἄλλων βίον κατίδοιμι.  
 π' εὐαγγέλου ἐπῳδ. 475  
 ρει θοὰ  
 δ' ἐτητύμως,  
 ἥ \* τι θεῖόν ἐστί \* πη ψύθος.  
 αἰδνὸς ἥ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,  
 τραγγέλμασιν 480  
 οθέντα καρδίαν, ἔπειτ'  
 ὄγου καμεῖν ;

MSS. τὰδε MSS. corr. H. 467. ὑπερκότως MSS.  
 μὴ MSS. corr. Ahr. 482. λόγους Fl. text Fa.

γυναικὸς αἰχμῇ πρέπει,  
 πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.  
 πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται 485  
 ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον  
 γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλυται κλέος.  
 τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς, 490  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.  
 κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὄρω κατάσκιον  
 κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
 πῆλου ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 495  
 ὥς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα  
 ὕλης ὀρέας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρὸς,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων·  
 τὸν ἀντίαν δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·  
 εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. 500  
 ὅστις τάδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,  
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

## ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ἰὼ πατρῶον οὐδας Ἀργείας χθονός,  
 δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμεν ἔτους,  
 πολλῶν <sup>οὐρανῶν</sup> βραγυσίων ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχών. 505  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠὔχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ  
 θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.  
 νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἀναξ, <sup>οὐρανῶν</sup>  
 τόξοις λάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλῃ· 510

ἄλῃς παρὰ Σκάμανδρον \* ἦσθ' ἀνάρσιος·  
 νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτήρ ἴσθι \* καὶ παιώνιος,  
 ἄναξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς  
 πάντας προσανδῶ, τόν τ' ἐμόν τιμάορον  
 Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, 515  
 ἥρως τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν  
 στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.  
 ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,  
 σεμνοί τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι,  
 \* εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασι 520  
 δέξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῷ χρόνῳ.  
 ἦκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.  
 ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπᾶσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 525  
 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.  
 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα,  
 καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.  
 τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
 ἄναξ Ἀτρεΐδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ 530  
 ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν  
 τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε σύντελῆς πόλις  
 ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.  
 ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην  
 τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἡμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον 535  
 αὐτόχθονον πατρῶον ἔθρισεν δόμον.  
 διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.

ΧΟ. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαῖρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.

ΚΗ. χαίρω \* γε· τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.

511. ἦλθες Fa. ἦλθ', with -es superscribed Fl. 512. καὶ παγώνιος Fl. ἀπαγώνιος Fa. corr. Dobr. Ahr. 520. ἦπου MSS. 539. χαίρω· τεθνάναι MSS. corr. Eng.

- ΧΟ. ἔρως πατρώας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν ; 540  
 ΚΗ. ὦστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.  
 ΧΟ. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.  
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ ; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.  
 ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ \* πεπληγμένοι.  
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις ; 545  
 ΧΟ. ὥς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός μ' ἀναστένειν.  
 ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στύγος \* φρενῶν ;  
 ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.  
 ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς ; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς ;  
 ΧΟ. \* ὥς νῦν τὸ σὸν δῆ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλῇ χάρις. 550  
 ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
 τὰ μὲν τις \* ἂν λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα. τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν  
 ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον ;  
 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανθίας, 555  
 σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ  
 στένοντες, οὐ † λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος ;  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ καὶ προσῆν, πλέον στύγος·  
 εὖναί γὰρ ἦσαν δαίτων πρὸς τείχεσιν·  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώναι 560  
 † δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος  
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα.  
 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἴωνοκτόνον,  
 οἶον παρείχ' ἀφερτον Ἰδαία χιών,  
 ἧ θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 565  
 κοίταις ἀκύμων νηέμοις εὐδοὶ πεσών·  
 τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ ; παροίχεται πόνος·

541. ἐκδ. Fa. 542. ἴστε Fl. 544. πεπληγμένος MSS. 547.  
 στρατῷ MSS. corrupt. φρενῶν H. 550. ὦν MSS. corr. Scal.  
 552. εὖ MSS. 557. λαχόντες corrupt. Perhaps πάσχοντες or  
 κλαίοντες.

παροίχεται δέ, τοῖσι μὲν τεθυκόσιν  
 τὸ μήποτ' αὔθις μηδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν.  
 τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν, 570  
 τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου ;  
 καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν ξυμφοραῖς καταξιώ.  
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει. ✓  
 ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει, 575  
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις·  
 Τροίαν ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γένος.  
 τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν 580  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται  
 Διὸς τόδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.  
 αἶε γὰρ ἦβᾷ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.  
 δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ μέλειν 585  
 εἰκὸς μάλιστα, ζῶν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ἔνπο,  
 ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,  
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.  
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε, φρυκτωρῶν δία 590  
 πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς ;  
 ἢ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἵρεσθαι κέαρ.  
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτός οὖσ' ἐφαινόμην.  
 ὅμως δ' ἔθνον· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμφ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πόλιν 595  
 ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες, ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις  
 θνητάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.  
 καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσω μὲν τί δεῖ σ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν ;  
 ἀνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.

ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν 600  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι—τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ σῶσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι ;—ταῦτ' ἀπάγγελιον πόσει·  
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει. 605

γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὗροι μολῶν  
 οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα  
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνη, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,  
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον  
 οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου. 610  
 οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν  
 ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαϊφάς.  
 τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων  
 οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ὥς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν.

ΧΟ. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μαυθάνοντί σοι 615  
 τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.  
 σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ, Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι,  
 εἰ νόστιμός γε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν  
 ἦξει ξὺν ὑμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.

ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ 620  
 ἐς τὸν πολλὸν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῇ \* τύχοις ;

ΚΗ. αὐτὴν ἀφάντος ἐξ Ἀχαιϊκοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. οὐ ψευδῆ λέγω. 625

ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου,  
 ἢ χειῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἥρπασε στρατοῦ ;

ΚΗ. ἔκρυσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·

ἱακρόν δὲ πῆμα ξυντόμως ἐφημίσω.  
 ἰότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος 630  
 βάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτῶν ἐκλήζετο ;  
 οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,  
 ἤλην τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἑλλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.  
 ὥς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῶ στρατῶ  
 λθεῖν τελευτήσαι τε δαιμόνων κότῳ ; 635  
 ὑφημον ἡμάρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ  
 ἰλώσῃ μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμὴ θεῶν.  
 ἴταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει  
 τυγνῶ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ,  
 πόλει μὲν ἕλκος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τυχεῖν, 640  
 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων  
 ἰνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἀρης φιλεῖ,  
 ἰλόγχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα·  
 τοιῶνδε μέντοι πημάτων \* σεσαγμένον  
 ἰρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων 645  
 ἰωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον  
 ἰκοντα πρὸς χαίρονσαν εὐεστοῖ πόλιν,  
 ἰὼς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμίξω, λέγων  
 ἰειμῶν· \* Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον \* θεῶν ;  
 ἰυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἐχθιστοὶ τὸ πρὶν, 650  
 ἰὺρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πῖστ' ἐδειξάτην.  
 ἰθέλονται τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.  
 ἰν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.  
 ἰαυς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θρηίκαι πνοαὶ  
 ἰρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βία 655  
 ἰειμῶνι τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὀμβροκτύπῳ  
 ἰχοντ' ἀφαντοὶ, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβῳ.

4. σεσαγμένον MSS. 649. Ἀχαιῶν . . . θεοῖς MSS. corr.  
 H. 655. ἰρειπον Fa. κερωτυπούμεναι MSS.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὀρώμεν ἀνθούν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς  
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις. 660  
 ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος  
 ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔζητήσατο  
 θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἶακος θεγών.  
 τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,  
 ὥς μήτ' ἐν ὄρμῃ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν 665  
 μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλειον χθόνα.  
 ἔπειτα δ' Ἄϊδην πόντιον πεφευγότες,  
 λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ, οὐ πεποιθότες τύχῃ,  
 ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,  
 στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδουμένου. 670  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐμπνέων,  
 λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὥς ὀλωλότας, τί μή;  
 ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταῦτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.  
 γένοιτο δ' ὥς ἄριστα. Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν  
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μολεῖν. 675  
 εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ  
 καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός,  
 οὐπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,  
 ἐλπὶς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἤξειν πάλιν.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τάληθ' ἡ κλύων. 680

XO. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ᾧδ' στρ. α'.

ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως—  
 μή τις θυτὶν' οὐχ ὀρώ-  
 μεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
 γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων ;— 685  
 τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ' Ἑλέναν ;  
 ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως



ἐλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις,

ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων

690

λυμμάτων ἔπλευσε

οὐ γίγαντος αὔρα,

ὠδροί τε φεράσπιδες

οἱ κατ' ἔχνος

τῶν ἀφαντον

695

ῶτες Σιμόεντος

\* ἐπ' ἀεξιφύλλους

ἢν αἱματόεσσαν.

δὲ κῆδος ὀρ-

ἀντ. α'.

μον τελεσσόφρων

700

ἤλασεν, τραπέ-

ἀτίμωσιν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ

ὕνεστίου Διὸς

τομένα τὸ νυμφότιμον μέλος ἐκ-

705

ς τλόντας,

μον, ὅς τὸτ' ἐπέρρεπεν

ροῖσιν ἀεῖδειν.

ἰανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον

μου πόλις γεραιὰ

710

ἰρηνον μέγα που στένει,

σκουσα Πάριν

ἰνύλεκτρον,

ἰπορθῇ πολύθρηνον

ι \* διαλ πολιτῶν

715

ἢν αἰμ' ἀνατλάσας

ἰεν δὲ \* λέοντος ἰ-

στρ. β'.

όμοις ἀγάλακτον οὖ-

αν MSS. corr. Heath. 697. ἐπ' ἀξιφ. Fl. εἰς ἀξιφ. Fa.

Fa. ἀτίμως ἢν' Fl. corr. Cant. 714. παμπρόσθη MSS.

λίταν MSS. 717. λέοντα σίνιν MSS. corr. Conington.

τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,  
 ἐν βίотου προτελείοις 720  
 ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα,  
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.  
 πολέα δ' \* ἔσκ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις,  
 νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν,  
 φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα, σαί- 725  
 νων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.  
 χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν\* ἦ- ἀντ. β'. 727  
 θος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χάριν  
 γὰρ τροφεύσιν ἀμείβων,  
 μηλοφόνουσι \* σὺν ἄταις 730  
 δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν  
 αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη·  
 ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,  
 μέγα σῖνος πολυκτόνον·  
 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄ- 735  
 τας δόμοις \* προσεθρέφθη.  
 παρ' αὐτὰ δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἴλιου πόλιν στρ. γ' 737  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν  
 νηνέμον γαλάνας, 740  
 ἀκασκαῖον \* δ' ἄγαλμα πλούτου,  
 μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,  
 δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος. 745  
 παρακλίνασ' ἐπέκρανευ  
 δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς,  
 δύσεδρος καὶ δυσάμιλος

723. ἔσχ' MSS. corr. Cas. 727. ἔθος MSS. ἦθος Con.  
 729. τροφᾶς γὰρ Fl. Text Fa. 730. μηλοφόνουσιν ἄταις Fa.  
 μ. ἄταισιν Fl. 735. προσετράφη MSS. corr. Heath. 737.  
 πᾶραντα MSS. δ' Fl. δ' οὖν Fa. 741. MSS. om. δ'. 745.  
 παρακλίνονσ' Fa. Text Fl.

συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,  
 πομπῇ Διὸς ξένιου,  
 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἑρινύς.  
 παλαιφάτος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος     ἀντ. γ'.     750  
 τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσ-  
 θέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον  
 τεκνούσθαι μηδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκειν,  
 ἐκ δ' ἀγαθῆς τύχας γένει     755  
 βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.  
 δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-  
 μί. τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον  
 μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,  
 σφετέρῃ δ' εἰκότα γέννα.     760  
 οἴκων δ' ἄρ' εὐθυδίκων  
 καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.  
 φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις     στρ. δ'.  
 μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-  
 ζουσιν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν     765  
 ὕβριν τότε ἢ τότε, \* ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλη  
 \* φάος τόκου,  
 δαίμονά τε \* τὰν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον,  
 ἀνίερρον θράσος, μελαινὰς μελάρθοισιν ἄτας,     770  
 \* εἰδομένας τοκεῦσιν.  
 δίκαια δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν     ἀντ. δ'.  
 δυσκάπνοισι δώμασιν,  
 τὸν δ' ἐναίσιμον τίλει [βίον].     775  
 τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' \* ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνυι χερῶν  
 παλιντρόποις

755. γὰρ δυσσεβές MSS.     766. όταν MSS. ὅτε Kl.     767.  
 νεαρὰ φάους κότον Fl. Fa.     νέα δ' ἐφύσεν κόρον Pal.     φάος τόκου  
 Eng.     769. τὸν MSS. ἄμαχον om. Fa.     771. εἰδομένας MSS.  
 775. βίον MSS. prob. corrupt.     776. ἐσθλά MSS. corr. Aurat.

ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια \* προσέμολε  
 δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλούτου παράσημον αἶψα· 780  
 πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμῆ.  
 ἄγε δὴ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πολέπορθ',  
 Ἄτρεως γένεθλον,  
 πῶς σε προσείπω ; πῶς σε σεβίζω, 785  
 μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας  
 καιρὸν χάριτος ;  
 πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι  
 προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.  
 τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν 790  
 πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης  
 οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·  
 καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς  
 ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.  
 ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων, 795  
 οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτὸς  
 τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας  
 ὑδαρεῖ σάλνειν φιλότῃτι.  
 σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν  
 Ἑλένης ξενε', οὐ γάρ \* σ' ἐπικεύσω, 800  
 κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος,  
 οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων  
 θράσος \* ἐκ θυσιῶν  
 ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων.  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως 805  
 εὐφρων \* πνύος εὖ τελέσασι.  
 γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπενθόμενος

779. προσέβα του MSS. corr. H. 791. δείγμα Fl. 800. σ'  
 omit. MSS. corr. Musgr. 803. ἐκούσιον MSS. text Franz. 806.  
 πόνος MSS. πνύος Weil.

τόν τε δικάως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως  
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους 810  
δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἔμοι μεταίτιους  
νόστου δικάων θ' ὧν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν  
Πριάμουν. δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ  
κλύοντες ἀνδροκμήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς  
εἰς αἱματηρὸν τεύχος οὐ διχορρόπως 815  
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει  
ἐλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῃ.  
καπνῷ δ' ἀλούσα νῦν ἔτ' εὖσημος πόλις  
ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ  
σποδὸς προπέμπει πλούας πλούτου πνοάς. ✓ 820  
τούτων θεοῖσι χρὴ πολύμνηστον χάριν  
τίνειν, ἐπείπερ καὶ πάγ᾽ ὑπερκότους  
\* ἐφραξάμεσθα, καὶ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα  
πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,  
ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδοστρόφος λεώς 825  
πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν·  
ὑπερβορῶν δὲ πύργον ὠμηστῆς λέων  
ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.  
θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε·  
τὰ δ' ἔς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα, μέμνημαι κλύων, 830  
καὶ φημὶ ταῦτα καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις.  
παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἔστι συγγενὲς τόδε,  
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἀνευ φθόνου σέβειν.  
δύσφρων γὰρ ἰδὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος

δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἀσπίδ.  
στρόφος, πηλὴ ἐν πηνί.  
λέω.

(ἐξ ἧς καὶ  
ἐν ταύτῃ.)

ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον, 835  
 τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασι βαρύνεται  
 καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορών στένει·  
 εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι,  
 ὁμίλιας κάτοπτρον, εἰδῶλον σκιᾶς,  
 δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρηνεμενεῖς ἔμοι. 840  
 μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἐκὼν ἔπλει,  
 ζευχθεὶς ἕτοιμος ἦν ἔμοι σειραφόρος·  
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι  
 λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς  
 κοινούς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει 845  
 βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον  
 ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·  
 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,  
 ἦτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως  
 πειρασόμεσθα \* πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου. 850  
 νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους  
 ἔλθων θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι, *ῥησαί ... πῆμ' ἔχει*  
 οἷπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.  
 νίκη δ' ἐπείπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.  
 ΚΛ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε, 855  
 οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλόνορας τρόπους  
 λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει  
 τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα  
 μαθοῦσ', ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον,  
 τοσόνδ' ὅσονπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίου. 860  
 τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσεως δίχα  
 ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἑκπαγλον κακόν,  
 πολλὰς κλύουσιν \* κληδόνας παλιγκότους·

850. πῆματος τρέψαι νόσον MSS. corr. Pors.  
corr. Aur.

863. ἡδονὰς MSS.

καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεσφέρειν κακοῦ  
 κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα, λάσκοντας δόμοις. 865  
 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὥς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο  
 φάτις, \* τέτρηται δικτύου πλέον λέγειν.  
 εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὥς ἐπλήθουν λόγοι,  
 τρισώματός τ' αὖ Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος 870  
 [πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω]  
 χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει \* λαβεῖν,  
 ἀπαξ ἐκάστῳ κατθανὼν μορφώματι.  
 τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων  
 πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης 875  
 ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,  
 ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος \* πιστωμάτων,  
 ὥς χρῆμ, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσης τόδε.  
 τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορυξένος 880  
 Στρόφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα  
 ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τὸν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλῆϊ σέθεν  
 κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία  
 βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον  
 βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον. 885  
 τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.  
 ἐμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι  
 πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἐνι σταγῶν.  
 ἐν ὀψικοῖτοισι δ' ὄμμασι βλάβας ἔχω,  
 τὰς ἀμφὶ σοι κλαίονσα λαμπτηρουχίας 890  
 ἀτμηελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασι

καὶ πρὸς αἰετὶν

867. ἀνὴρ MSS. 868. τέτρηται MSS. text Ahr. 871. No  
 doubt corrupt. 872. λαβὼν MSS. corr. K. Pal. 878. πιστεν-  
 μάτων MSS. corr. H.

λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην  
 ριπαῖσι θωύσσοντος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη  
 ὀρώσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.  
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ' ἀπενθήτῃ φρενὶ 895  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε, τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,  
 σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης  
 στῦλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,  
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα,  
 κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, 900  
 ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.  
 τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἄπαν.  
 τοιοῖσδέ \* τοὶ νῦν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.  
 φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ  
 ἦνειχόμεσθα· νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κára, 905  
 ἐκβαίν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς  
 τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἴλιου πορθήτορα.  
 δμῳαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος  
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν;  
 εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος 910  
 ἐς δῶμ' ἀελπτον ὥς ἂν ἡγήται δίκη.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνῳ νικωμένη  
 θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἰμαρμένα.

ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ,  
 ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ· 915  
 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ' ἐναισίμῳς  
 αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρὴ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας·  
 καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ  
 ἄβρυνε μὴδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην  
 χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί, 920  
 μὴδ' εἵμασι στρώσας' ἐπὶ φθορον πόρον  
*ἐπὶ φθορὰν ἢ ἐπὶ φθορὰν*



- τίθει· θεούς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών·  
 ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν  
 βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου.  
 λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ. 925  
 χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων  
 κληδὼν ἄυτεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
 θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ  
 βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὖεστοῖ φίλῃ.  
 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πράσσοιμ', ἄν, εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ. 930  
 ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.  
 ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.  
 ΚΛ. ἤϋξω θεοῖς δείσας ἀν' ᾧδ' ἔρδειν τὰδε; *thus, on this note*  
 ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις, εἰδὼς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξείπον τέλος.  
 ΚΛ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος εἰ τὰδ' ἤνυσεν; 935  
 ΑΓ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.  
 ΑΓ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.  
 ΚΛ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.  
 ΑΓ. οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἱμείρειν μάχης. 940  
 ΚΛ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.  
 ΑΓ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δῆριος τίεις;  
 ΚΛ. πιθοῦ· κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί.  
 ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας  
 λύοι τάχος πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός, 945  
 καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνουνθ' ἄλουργέσιν θεῶν  
 μή τις πρόσσθην ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.  
 πολλὴ γὰρ αἰδώς \* *fiat, 4th time* δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶ  
 φθείροντα πλούτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς.  
 τούτων μὲν οὕτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρηνεμένως 950

930. πράσσοιμεν H. 946. σὺν ταῖσδέ Fa. text Fl.  
 σωματε ὀρεῖν MSS. δωμ. Schütz.

τὴνδ' ἐσκόμιζε· τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς  
 θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέκεται.  
 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρήται ζυγῷ.  
 αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον  
 ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο. 955  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,  
 εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα, πορφύρας πατῶν.

ΚΛ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει ;  
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας \* ἰσάργυρον  
 κηκίδα παγκαλίστου, εἰμάτων βαφάς. 960  
 οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἀναξ,  
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.  
 πολλῶν πατησμὸν δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ηὔξάμην,  
 δόμοισι προῦνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις,  
 ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένῃ. 965  
 ῥίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἴκετ' ἐς δόμους,  
 σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός.  
 καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματίτιν ἐστίαν,  
 θάλλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνεις μολόν'  
 ὅταν δὲ τεύχῃ Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὀμφακος πικρᾶς 970  
 οἶνον, τότ' ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει,  
 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστρωφώμενον.

Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει·  
 μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης τελεῖν.

ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως στρ. α'. 975  
 δεῖμα προστατήριον  
 καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος ἀοιδά·

959. εἰς ἄργυρον MSS.

965. μηχανωμένης MSS. corr. H.

969. μολῶν MSS.

970. Ζεὺς τ' MSS.

976. δεῖγμα Fl. δεῖμα

Fa.

οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι δίκαν 980  
 δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων  
 θάρσος εὐπιθὲς ἵζει  
 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; † χρόνος δ' ἐπὶ  
 πρυμνησίων \* ξυνεμβολαῖς  
 ψαμμίας ἀκάτας παρή- 985  
 βησεν, εὖθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον  
 ὤρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.  
 πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἀντ. α'.  
 νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὦν·  
 τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας \* ὅμως ὑμνωδεῖ 990  
 θρήνον Ἑρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν  
 θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων  
 ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.  
 σπλάγχνα δ' \* οὔτι ματάζει 995  
 πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις  
 δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ.  
 εὔχομαι δ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς \* τοιαῦτ'  
 ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν,  
 ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον. 1000  
 μάλα γέ τοι \* τὸ μεγάλας ὑγιείας στρ. β'.  
 ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόστος γὰρ \* αἰὶ  
 γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει,  
 καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν 1005  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄφαντον ἔρμα.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων

980. ἀποπτύσας Fl. text Fa. 982. ἵζει MSS. corr. Scal.  
 983. ἐπεὶ Fl. 984. ξυνεμβόλοις MSS. 990. ὅπως MSS. 991.  
 Ἑρινύς MSS. 995. οὔτοι MSS. 998. ἐξ ἐμᾶς Fl. τοι Fa. om.  
 Fl. τοιαῦτ' K. 1001. γὰρ τοι Fl. γέ τοι δὴ Fa. τὰς πολλὰς MSS.  
 text Pal. τὸ πολέος Enger. 1002. om. αἰὶ MSS. 1006. line  
 omitted probably.

κτησίῳ ὄκνος βαλὼν,  
 σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,— 1010  
 οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δόμος  
 πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
 οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.  
 πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ ἐξ  
 ἀλόκων ἐπετεῖαν 1015

νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.  
 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν \* πεσὸν ἄπαξ θανάσιμον ἀντ. β'.  
 προσάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἂν 1020  
 πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;  
 οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ  
 τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν.  
 Ζεὺς \* ἀπέπαυσεν ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ; †  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα 1025

μοῖρα μοῖραν, ἐκ θεῶν  
 εἴργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,  
 προφθάσασα καρδία  
 γλῶσσαν ἂν τὰδ' ἐξέχει.  
 νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει 1030  
 θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ καίριον  
 ἐκτολυπέουσιν,  
 ζῶπυρουμένας φρενός.

ΚΛ. εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασσάνδραν λέγω, 1035  
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις  
 κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ  
 δούλων, σταθεῖσαν κτησίῳ βωμοῦ πέλας.  
 ἐκβαῖν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.  
 καὶ <sup>ῥεῦ</sup>παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ 1040

1019. πεσόνθ' ἄπαξ MSS. 1024. αὐτ' ἐπαυσεν MSS. text  
 Hartung. ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ γε Fa. text Fl.

τὸ θεῶν  
 πραθέντα τλήναι καὶ ζυγῶν θιγεῖν βίᾳ.  
 εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,  
 ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις.  
 οἳ δ' οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμησαν καλῶς,  
 ὧμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην. 1045  
 ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἴᾳ περ νομίζεται.

ΧΟ. σοί τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῇ λόγον.  
 ἐντὸς δ' \* ἀλοῦσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων,  
 πεῖθοι' ἂν εἰ πεῖθοι'. ἀπειθοῖς δ' ἴσως.

ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἔστι μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην 1050  
 ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,  
 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νῦν λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. ἔπον. τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστῶτων λέγει.  
 πείθου, λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον.

ΚΛ. οὔτοι \* θυραῖα τῆδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα 1055  
 τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστις μεσομφάλου  
 ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός,  
 ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξω χάριν.

εἰ θεῶν σαμφαίη τις οὐδ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει. 1060  
 εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον,

{ 1. ποιητὴς } οὐδ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερσί.  
 { 2. σφίς } ΧΟ. ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἢ ξένη τοροῦ

δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὥς νεαιρέτον.  
 ΚΛ. ἡ μαίνεται γὰρ καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν, 1065  
 ἣτις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον  
 ἥκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν,  
 πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.  
 οὐ μὴν πλέω ρίψας' ἀτιμωθήσομαι.

1041. τλήναι δουλείας μάξης βίᾳ Fl. text Fa. 1042. ἐπιρρέπει  
 Fa. 1048. ἂν οὔσα MSS. text Schneid. 1055. θυραῖαν τήνδ'  
 MSS.

ΧΟ. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτείρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.  
 ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσας ὄχον, 1070  
 \* εἰκούς' ἀνάγκη τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν. *α γὰρ*

## ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

ὄτοτοτοῖ πόποι δᾶ. στρ. α'.  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.

ΧΟ. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυνας ἀμφι Λοξίου;  
 οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν. 1075

ΚΑ. ὄτοτοτοῖ πόποι δᾶ. ἀντ. α'.  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.

ΧΟ. ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ  
 οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

ΚΑ. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον στρ. β'. 1080  
*α γὰρ* ἀπόλλων ἐμός. ὦ

ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.

ΧΟ. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφι τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.  
 μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ \* περ ἐν φρενί.

ΚΑ. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον ἀντ. β'. 1085  
 ἀγυῖάτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.

ἂ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην; *κα*

ΧΟ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν· εἰ σὺ μὴ τῷδ' ἐννοεῖς,  
 ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθῃ.

ΚΑ. μισόθρου μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνίστορα στρ. γ'. 1090  
 αὐτόφωνα κακὰ \* καὶ ἀρτάνας,  
 ἀνδρὸς \* σφαγείου καὶ πέδον βαντήριον.

ΧΟ. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἢ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην  
 εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὦν \* ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

1071. ἐκοῦσ' MSS. corr. Rob. 1084. παρ' ἐν M.G. παρὲν Fl.  
 παρὸν Fa. 1091. κάρτάνας Fa. κάρτάναι M.G. Fl. 1092.  
 σφάγιον MSS. 1094. ὦν ἂν εὐρήσῃ M.G. ἂν ἐφευρήσει Fl. Fa.  
 corr. Pors.

ΚΑ. μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ<sup>πῶς</sup> τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι· ἀντ. γ'. 1095  
 κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς,  
 ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.

ΧΟ. ἤμεν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι·  
 \*τούτων προφήτας δ' οὔτινας ματεύομεν.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόποι, τί ποτε μῆδεται; στρ. δ' 1100  
 τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα  
 μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μῆδεται κακὸν  
 ἄφερτον φίλοισιν, δυσίατον; ἀλλὰ δ'  
 ἐκὰς ἀποστατεῖ.

ΧΟ. τούτων αἰδρὶς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων· 1105  
 ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνω· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς, ἀντ. δ'.  
 τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν  
 λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;  
 τάχος γὰρ τόδ' ἔσται. προτείνει δὲ χεὶρ ἐκ 1110  
 χερὸς \*ὀρέγματα.

ΧΟ. οὐπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων  
 ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμνηχανῶ.

ΚΑ. ἔ ξ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται; στρ. ε'. 1115  
 ἡ δίκτυόν τι Ἄιδου;  
 ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἡ ξύνευνος, ἡ ξυναιτία  
 φόνου. στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει  
 κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου.

ΧΟ. ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει  
 ἐπορθιάζειν; οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος. ✓ 1120  
 ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς

1095. μαρτυρίοις μὲν γὰρ Fl. Fa. V. τοῖσδε πεπείθομαι MSS.  
 1096. τάδε M.G. τὰ Fl. Fa. V. 1098. ἤμεν G. Fl. V. ἡ μὴν M?  
 ἡ μὲν Fa. 1099. ἤμεν MSS. τούτων Weil. 1111. ὀρεγομένα  
 M.G. ὀρεγμένα Fl. Fa. V. corr. H. 1117. ἀκόρεστος MSS.

σταγών, † ἄτε \* καιρία πτώσιμος  
 ξυνανύτει βίου δύντος αὐγαῖς.  
 ταχεῖα δ' ἅτα πέλει.

ΚΑ. ἂ ἅ. ἰδοὺ ἰδοῦ· ἄπεχε τῆς βοῦς ἀντ. ε'. 1125  
 τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισι  
 \* μελαγκέρφ λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι  
 τύπτει· πίτνει δ' \* ἐν ἐνύδρῳ \* κύτει.  
 δολοφόνου λέβητος τύχαν σοὶ λέγω.

ΧΟ. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος 1130  
 εἶναι, κακῷ δέ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε.  
 ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις  
 βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ \* διαί  
 πολυεπεῖς τέχναι θεσπιφδὸν  
 φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν. 1135

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι. στρ. 5'.  
 τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πάθος \* ἐπεγχεῖαι.  
 ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες;  
 οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην. τί γάρ;

ΧΟ. φρενομανῆς τις εἰ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ- 1140  
 φλ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς  
 νόμον ἄνομον, οἶά τις ξουθὰ  
 ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναις φρεσὶν  
 Ἰτυν Ἰτυν στέγους' ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς  
 ἀηδῶν βίον. 1145

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρον ἀηδόνας· ἀντ. 5'.  
 \* περιβάλον γὰρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας

1122. καὶ δωρία M. καὶ δωρία G. V. Fl. δωρία Fa. corr. D.  
 1127. μελάγκερον Fa. Fl. V. and M. originally. μελαγκέρφ Fa. G.  
 1128. MSS. om. ἐν. τεύχει MSS. corr. Blom. H. 1133. διὰ M.G.  
 δὴ αἱ Fl. Fa. V. 1137. ἐπεγχεῖασα M.G. ἐπαγχεῖασα V. Fl. Fa.  
 ἐπεγχεῖαι Campbell. 1143. ἀκόρεστος MSS. cf. 1117. 1147.  
 περεβάλλοντο γὰρ M. περεβάλλοντο γὰρ G. περιβαλόντες γὰρ Fa.  
 Fl. V. corr. Blom.



θεοί, γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·  
ἐμοὶ δὲ μέμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.

ΧΟ. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τ' ἔχεις 1150

ματᾶλους δύας,  
τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτω κλαγγῇ  
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὀρθίοις ἐν νόμοις ;  
πόθεν ὄρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ  
κακορρήμονας ;

1155

ΚΑ. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος δλέθριοι φίλων στρ. ζ'.  
ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν.

τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαιν'  
ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς·

νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κάχερουσίους 1160  
ὄχθους ἔοικα θεσπιωδῆσειν τάχα.

ΧΟ. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω ;  
νεόγονος \* ἂν αἰῶν μάθοι.

πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ \* δάκει φοινίῳ, + *δ*

δυσαλγεῖ τύχα μινυρά *κακὰ* \* θρευμένας, 1165  
θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας τὸ πᾶν. ἀντ. ζ'.

ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρὸς

πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'  
οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν

1170

τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν.

ἐγὼ δὲ \* θερμόν οὐ στάγ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ ;

ΧΟ. ἐπόμενα προτέροισι τάδ' ἐφημίσω.

καί τίς σε \* κακοφρονῶν τίθη-

1148. ἀγῶνα MSS. 1152. ἐπιφόβῳ M.G. 1163. νεογνὸς  
ἀνθρώπων μάθοι MSS. καὶ παῖς νεόγονος ἂν μάθοι H. text Karst.  
1164. δῆγματι MSS. 1165. θρευμένας MSS. 1166. θαύματ'  
Fa. text V. Fl. 1172. θερμίνους τάχ' ἐμπέδῳ MSS. corr.  
Miller. 1174. κακοφρονεῖν MSS.

σε δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων 1175  
 μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατηφόρα.  
 τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμός οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων  
 ἔσται δεδορκώς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην·  
 λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς 1180  
 πνέων ἐσῆξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην  
 \* κλύειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πήματος πολὺ  
 μείζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.  
 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμῳ ἱχνος κακῶν  
 ῥινηλατούσῃ τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων. 1185  
 τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς  
 σύμφθογγος, οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.  
 καὶ μὴν πεπωκώς γ', ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,  
 βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,  
 δύσπεμπτος ἔξω συγγόνων Ἑρινύων. 1190  
 ὕμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι  
 πρῶταρχον ἄτην· ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν  
 εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.  
 ἤμαρτον, ἥ \* θηρῶ τι τοξότης τίς ὥς ;  
 ἥ ψευδόμαντις εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων ; 1195  
 ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμους τό μ' εἰδέναι  
 λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἁμαρτίας δόμων.

τοῦτο

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος, \* πῆγμα γενναίως παγέν,  
 παιώνιος γένοιτο ; θαυμάζω δέ σε ὧ  
 πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν 1200  
 κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.

ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῷδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει.

1176. θανατοφόρα V. Fl. text Fa. 1182. κλύειν MSS. corr.  
 Aur. Schutz. 1194. τηρῶ MSS. corr. Cant. 1196. τὸ μὴ δέναι V.  
 text Fl. Fa. 1198. πῆγμα MSS. 1199. παιώνιον V. Fl. text Fa.

- ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεὸς περ ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος ;  
 ΚΑ. προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.  
 ΧΟ. ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον. 1205  
 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστής, κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.  
 ΧΟ. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἡλθέτην νόμφ ;  
 ΚΑ. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.  
 ΧΟ. ἦδη τέχναισιw ἐνθέοις ἥρημένη ;  
 ΚΑ. ἦδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη. 1210  
 ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' \* ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ ;  
 ΚΑ. ἐπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὥς τὰδ' ἥμπλακον.  
 ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.  
 ΚΑ. ἰοὺ ἰοῦ, ὦ ὦ κακά.  
 ὑπ' αὐτὸν με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος 1215  
 στροβεῖ, ταρασσων φροῖμοις \* δυσφροῖμοις  
 ὁρᾶτε τοῦσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους  
 νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι ;  
 παῖδες θανόντες ὥσπερ εἰ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,  
 χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκέας βορᾶς, 1220  
 σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,  
 πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὦν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.  
 ἐκ τῶνδε ποινάς φημι βουλευεῖν τινὰ  
 λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφόμενον  
 οἰκουρόν, οἴμοι, τῷ μολόντι δεσπότη 1225  
 ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρή τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν.  
 νεῶν τ' ἐπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης  
 † οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς  
 λείψασα, κᾰκτεῖναςα φαιδρόνους, δίκην  
 ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.† 1230

1203 and 1204 inverted in MSS. H. restored the order. 1211.  
 ἄνατος MSS. corr. Cant. 1216. ἐφημένους MSS. text H. 1228.  
 corrupt. Madv. conj. οἶα γλῶσσα μ. κ. λείψασα κᾰκτεῖναςα φαιδρὸν  
 οὗς, δ. α. λ., δέξεται κακῇ τύχῃ. (λείψασα Tyrwhitt.)

\* τοιᾶδε τόλμη θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς  
 ἔστιν. τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος  
 τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἣ Σκύλλαν τινὰ  
 οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην,  
 θύουσαν Ἄιδου μητέρ', ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη 1235  
 φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὥς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο  
 ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ.  
 δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ; ✓  
 τὸ μέλλον ἤξει. καὶ σύ \* μ' ἐν τάχει παρὼν 1240  
 ἄγαν ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτεῖρας ἑρεῖς.

ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν  
 ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα· καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει  
 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω. 1245

ΚΑ. Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον.

ΧΟ. εὐφημον, ὦ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.

ΚΑ. ἄλλ' οὔτι Παιῶν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, \* εἴπερ ἔσται γ'· ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.

ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει. 1250

ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄχος πορσύνεται;

ΚΑ. ἡ κάρτα \* τὰρ' ἄν παρεκόπης χρησμάτων ἐμῶν.

ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλήν' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.

ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσμαθῇ δ' ὅμως. 1255

ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἶον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι.

ὁτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἀπολλων, οἱ ἐγὼ ἐγώ.

αὕτη δίπλους λέαινα συγκοιμωμένη

1231. τοιᾶδε τολμᾷ V. Fl. τοιαῦτα Fa. corr. Karst. 1235.  
 ἀρὰν MSS. text Pors. Ἄρην Butler. 1240. μὴν MSS. 1249.  
 εἰ πάρεσται MSS. 1252. κάρτ' ἄρ' ἄν παρεσκόπης (ει suprascript.)  
 Fl. V. παρεσκόπη(ης suprasec.) Fa. παρεσκόπεις Vict. κάρτα τᾶρα  
 παρεκόπης Hart. 1258. δίπλους V. Fl. Fa. text Vict.

λύκῳ, λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσία,  
 κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὥς δὲ φάρμακον 1260  
 τεύχουσα κἀμοῦ μισθὸν ἐνθήσειν κότῳ  
 ἐπέυχεται, θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον,  
 ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτίσασθαι φόνον.  
 τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,  
 καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη ; 1265  
 σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.  
 ἵτ' ἐς φθόρον· πεσόντα \* θ' ᾧδ' ἀμείψομαι·  
 ἄλλην τιν' \* ἄτης ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.  
 ἰδοὺ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ  
 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με 1270  
 κὰν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην \* μέγα  
 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην—  
 καλουμένη δὲ φοιτὰς ὥς ἀγύρτρια  
 πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθνῆς ἤνεσχόμην—  
 καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ 1275  
 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανάσιμους τύχας.  
 βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίζηνον μένει  
 θερμῷ κοπέλης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.  
 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν. ✓  
 ἦξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάρορος, 1280  
 μητροκτόνον φίλυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·  
 φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος  
 κάτεισιν, ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·  
 ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας  
 † ἄξειν νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός. 1285  
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ \* κάτοικτος ᾧδ' ἀναστένω ;

1261. ἐνθήσει V. Fl. text Fa. 1267. ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀμείψομαι  
 MSS. πεσόντα· ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' ἔψομαι H. text A. W. Verrall. 1268.  
 ἄτην MSS. corr. Stan. 1271. μετὰ MSS. corr. H. 1284. MSS.  
 read this after 1290. corr. H. 1286. κάτοικτος MSS. corr. Scal.

<sup>from the beginning</sup>  
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν  
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἳ δ' \*εἶλον πόλιν,  
 οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,  
 ἰούσα πράξω· τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν. 1290  
 "Αἶδον πύλας δὲ \*τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω.  
 ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,  
 ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθυησίμων  
 ἀπορρνέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ὦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφῇ 1295  
 γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας. εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως  
 μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου  
 βόδς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς ;

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξις, οὐ, ξένοι, \*χρόνον πλέω.

ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὕστατος γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται. <sup>The last moment of</sup>  
 1300 <sup>time is cherished.</sup>

ΚΑ. ἦκει τόδ' ἡμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φνυγῇ.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὖς' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

2 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.

1 ΧΘ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ τῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων. 1305

ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ χρήμα, τίς σ' ἀποστρέφει φόβος ;

ΚΑ. φεῦ·φεῦ.

ΧΟ. τί τοῦτ' ἔφευξας ; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στόγος.

ΚΑ. φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἱματοσταγῇ.

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ; τόδ' ὄζει θυμάτων ἐφροστίων. 1310

ΚΑ. ὁμοῖος ἀτμὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει.

ΧΟ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάϊσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἴμι κὰν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ' ἐμῇν

'Αγαμέμνωνός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκεῖτω βίος.

1288. εἶχον MSS. corr. Musgr. 1291. τὰς λέγω MSS. corr.

Aur. 1299. χρόνῳ MSS. 1309. φόβον MSS., but Fa. has ν  
 over the β.

ἰὼ ξένοι.

1315

οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὥς ὄρνις φόβῳ  
 ἄλλως· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,  
 ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,  
 ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.  
 ἐπιξενούμαι ταῦτα δ' ὥς θανουμένη.

1320

ΧΟ. ὦ τλῆμον, οἰκτεῖρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου.

ΚΑ. ἀπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν, \* οὐ θρήνον θέλω  
 ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. ἡλίου δ' ἐπεύχομαι  
 πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς † τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις,  
 ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ, †

1325

δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.  
 ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν  
 \* σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ,  
 βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνων μᾶλλον οἰκτεῖρω πολύ.

1330

ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν εὖ <sup>noted with certainty</sup> πρᾶσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν  
 πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ'  
 οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἵργει μελάθρων,  
 'μηκέτ' ἐσέλθῃς τάδε' φωνῶν.  
 καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλεῖν ἔδοσαν

1335

μάκαρες Πριάμου,  
 θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·  
 νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἰμ' ἀποτίσει,  
 καὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανῶν ἄλλων  
 ποινὰς θανάτων \* ἐπικραίνει,  
 τίς ἂν εὖξαιτο \* βροτὸς ὦν ἀσινεῖ

1340

1317. ἀλλ' ὥς θανούσῃ MSS. corr. H. 1322. ἡ MSS. corr. H.  
 1323. ἡλίῳ MSS. corr. Karst. 1328. σκιά τις ἀντρέψειεν MSS. ἂν  
 Pors. πρέψειεν H. σκιᾷ Con. 1340. ἐπικρανεῖ Fl. V. ἀγαν  
 ἐπικρανεῖ Fa. corr. H. 1341. βροτῶν MSS. corr. Bothe.

δαίμονι φῦναι τάδ' ἀκούων ;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.

## ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΙ.

ΗΜ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν αὐτεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος ;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος. 1345

ΗΜ. τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγατι,  
ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' \*ἦν πως ἀσφαλῇ βουλευμάτ' \*ἦ.

ΗΜ. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,  
πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.

ΗΜ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ 1350  
καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν ξὺν νεορρύτῳ ξίφει.

ΗΜ. καγὼ τοιοῦτου γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὦν  
ψηφίζομαί τι δρᾶν. τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.

ΗΜ. ὁρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς  
τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει. 1355

ΗΜ. χρονίζομεν γάρ. οἱ δὲ \*τῆς μελλούσης κλέος  
\*πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερσί.

ΗΜ. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἥστινος τυχὼν λέγω.  
τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευσάι πέρι.

ΗΜ. καγὼ τοιοῦτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ 1360  
λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν.

ΗΜ. ἦ καὶ βίον \*τείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπείζομεν  
δόμων καταισχυνητήρσι τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις ;

ΗΜ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ.  
πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος. 1365

ΗΜ. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων  
μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότος ;

1347. ἂν . . . . βουλευματα MSS. 1356. μελλούσης Fa. τῆς  
μελλούσης Fl. V. 1357. πέδον MSS. corr. H. 1362. κτείνοντες  
MSS.



ΗΜ. σάφ' εἰδότας χρὴ τῶνδε \*θυμοῦσθαι πέρι.  
τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.

ΗΜ. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι, 1370  
τρανώς Ἀτρείδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὅπως.

ΚΛ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων  
τάναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι.  
πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, φίλοις  
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, \*πῆμονῆς ἀρκύστατ' ἂν 1375

φράξειεν ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος;  
ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι  
\*νείκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν  
ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἐπαισ<sup>ελακ. π. β. α.</sup> ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.

οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα, καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι 1380  
ὥς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι μόρον.

from wh. there is no  
escape.

ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,  
περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.  
παῖω δέ νιν δῖς· κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασι  
μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότε 1385

τρίτην ἐπευδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς  
† Αἰδοῦ νεκρῶν σωτήρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.  
οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσόν·  
κάκφυσιῶν ὀξείαν αἵματος σφαγὴν

βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου, 1390  
χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ \*διοσδότῳ

γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

ὥς ᾧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τῷδε, <sup>κεν τῶναι</sup>  
χαίροιτ' ἂν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι. <sup>τοιαύτ.</sup>

εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ, 1395

1368. μυθοῦσθαι MSS. corr. H. 1375. πῆμονῆν ἀρκύστατον  
MSS. corr. H. 1378. νείκης MSS. corr. Heath. 1381. ἀμύνασθαι  
V. Fl. Fa. ἀμύνεσθαι Vict. and many edd. 1387. Αἰδοῦ MSS.  
Διὸς Enger. 1391. Διὸς νότῳ γὰρ, εἰ MSS. corr. Porz.

\* τῷδ' ἂν δικάως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν.  
 τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὄδε  
 πλήσας ἀραίων, αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολῶν.

ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλῶσσαν, ὥς θρασύστομος,  
 ἦτις τοιόνδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον. 1400

ΚΛ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὥς ἀφράσμονος,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳ καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότης  
 ὧ λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἶτε με ψέγειν θέλεις  
 ὅμοιον. οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς  
 πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ, τῇσδε δεξιᾷς χερὸς 1405  
 ἔργον δικαίας τέκτονος. τάδ' ὦδ' ἔχει.

ΧΟ. τί κακόν, ὦ γύναι, χθονοτρεφὲς ἐδανὸν στρ.  
 ἧ ποτὸν πασαμένα \* ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἁλὸς ὄρμενον  
 τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς ;  
 ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμές \* τ'· ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει, 1410  
 μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς.

ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγῇν ἐμοὶ  
 καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,  
 οὐδὲν \* τότε ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων  
 ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ βοτοῦ μόνον, 1415  
 μήλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,  
 ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ  
 ὦδιν', ἐπῳδὸν Θρηκίων \* ἀημάτων.  
 οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῇσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρῆλατεῖν,  
 μiasμάτων ἅποιον ; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν 1420  
 ἔργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι  
 τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν, ὥς παρεσκευασμένης  
 ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ

1396. τάδε MSS. 1408. ρυσᾶς MSS. 1410. ἀπέταμες ἀπολις  
 MSS. τ' Κ. ἀπόπολις H. 1414. τόδ' MSS. 1418. τε λημάτων  
 MSS. corr. Cant. 1419. χρή MSS.

ἄρχειν· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίῃ θεός,  
γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὀψὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. 1425

ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἶ, περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες,  
ὥσπερ οὖν φονολιβεῖ τύχα φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται·  
λίβος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος \* ἐμπρέπει·  
ἀτίετον ἔτι σὲ χρή στερομέναν φίλων  
τύμμα τύμματι τίσαι. 1430

ΚΛ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν·  
μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς δίκην, <sup>μυθῶναι</sup>  
Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ', αἰσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,  
οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ,  
ἕως ἂν αἴθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμῆς 1435  
Αἰγισθος, ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.  
οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπίς οὐ μικρὰ θράσους.  
κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,  
Χρυσήιδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ,  
ἢ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος, 1440  
καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε, θεσφατηλόγος  
πιστὴ ξύνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων  
\* ἰσοτριβῆς. ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως· ἡ δέ τοι κύκνου δίκην  
τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον 1445  
κεῖται φιλήτωρ \* τῷδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν  
εὐνῆς <sup>σοὶ ἐλεῖναι</sup> παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

ΧΟ. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,  
μηδὲ δεμνιοτήρης,  
μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρονσ' ἐν ἡμῖν 1450  
μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος

1428. εὖ πρέπει ἀτίετον Fa. εὖ πρέπει ἀντίετον Fl. εὐπρέπειαν  
τίετον V. ἐμπρέπει Aurat. 1443. ἰσοτριβῆς. corr. Pauw. 1446.  
τοῦδ' MSS. corr. H.

φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου

\* πολέα τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί·  
πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

ἰὼ \* ἰὼ \* παράνους Ἑλένα στρ. α'. 1455

μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς  
ψυχὰς ὀλέσας ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ.

νῦν δὲ τελείαν \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

† πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω [δι'] αἶμ' ἀνιπτον.

\* ἦ τις ἦν τότε ἐν δόμοις 1460

ἔρις ἐρῖδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.†

ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου στρ. β'.

τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς·

μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς,

ὥς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὥς μία πολλῶν 1465

ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσας

ἀξύστατον ὄλγος ἔπραξε.

ΧΟ. δαῖμον, ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ \* διφυί-

οῖσι Ταυταλίδαισιν,

κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν 1470

\* καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.

ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν

κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖς ἐκνόμως

ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν \* \* ἐπεύχεται.

1453. καὶ πολλὰ MSS. πολέα Eng. 1455. ἰὼ παρὰ νόμους MSS.  
ἰὼ Blomf. παρὰ νόμους H. 1459. δι' MSS. 1460. ἦ τις MSS.  
corr. Eng. 1468. ἐμπίτνεις MSS. διφυεῖσι MSS. corr H. 1471.  
καρδίᾳ δηκτόν MSS. 1472. δίκαν μοι MSS. 1473. σταθεῖς MSS.  
corr. Schütz. Pors. ἐκνόμως V. Fl. text Fa.

- ΚΛ. νῦν δ' ὄρθωσας στόματος γνώμην, ἀντ. β'. 1475  
 τὸν \*τριπάχυντον  
 δαίμονα γένυης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.  
 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς  
 †νεῖρει τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι  
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ. 1480
- ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν \*οἰκονόμον στρ. γ'.  
 δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς.  
 φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
 ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου  
 ἰώ, ἰῆ διαὶ Διὸς 1485  
 παναιτίου πανεργέτα,  
 τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;  
 τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν;  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ, 1490  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω;  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;  
 κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'  
 ἄσεβει θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.  
 ὦμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον  
 δολίῳ μὶθῳ δαμείς 1495  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.
- ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοῦργον ἐμόν.  
 μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῆς  
 Ἄγαμεμνονίαν εἶναί μ' ἄλοχον.  
 φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ 1500  
 τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ  
 Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος

1476. τριπάχυντον MSS. corr. H. 1481. οἰκοῖς τοῖσδε MSS. corr.  
 Schn. K. 1486. πανεργέταν Fl. V. text Fa. 1498. text V. Fl.  
 μηδ' Fa. μηκέτι λεχθῆ δ' H.

τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν,  
τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.

ΧΟ. ὥς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ ἀντ. γ'. 1505

τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων ;

πῶ πῶ ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-

πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.

βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις

ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων 1510

μέλας Ἄρης † ὅποι \* δίκαν προβαίνων

πάχυν' κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.†

ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,

πῶς σε δακρύσω ;

φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω ; 1515

κείσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.

ᾧμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον

δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς

ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ. 1520

ΚΛ. [οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον

τῷδε γενέσθαι.]

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην

οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ' ;

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέν, 1525

τὴν πολύκλαυτόν τ' Ἰφιγενείαν,

\* ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων

μηδὲν ἐν Αἰδοῦ μεγαλαυχεῖτω,

ξιφοδηλήτῳ

θανάτῳ τίσας ἄπερ ἤρξεν.

ΧΟ. ἀμχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς στρ. δ'. 1530

1511. δὲ καὶ προβαίνων MSS. προβαίνων Cant. δίκην Butl.  
δίκαν Scholeff. 1521-2. Probably spurious. 1527. ἀνάξια MSS.

εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν  
 ὅπα τράπωμαι, πίνοντος οἴκου.  
 δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῇ  
 τὸν αἵματηρόν· ψακὰς δὲ λήγει.  
 δίκην δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα \* θηγάνει βλάβης 1535  
 πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναισι Μοῖρα.  
 ἰὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθ' ἔμ' ἐδέξω, ἀντ. α'.  
 πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου  
 δροίτας κατέχοντα χαμεύναν. 1540  
 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνησών;  
 ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσει, κτείνασ'  
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ἀποκωκῦσαι  
 ψυχὴν, ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων 1545  
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;  
 τίς δ' \* ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ  
 σὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων  
 ἀλαθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει; 1550  
 ΚΛ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημα λέγειν  
 τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 ἀλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως 1555  
 θυγάτηρ, ὥς χρῆ,  
 πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον  
 πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων  
 περὶ \* χεῖρε βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

1535. δίκη MSS. corr. Aug. θήγει MSS. corr. H. δίκη . . . θηγά-  
 ναις μάχαιραν Musgr. θηγάναις MSS. 1547. ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος  
 MSS. corr. Voss. Stanl. 1555. Ἰφιγένειαν ἴν' MSS. corr. Jacob.  
 59. χεῖρα MSS.

ΧΟ. ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδούς. ἀντ. δ'. 1560

δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρίναι.

φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.

μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν \*θρόνῳ Διδος

παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα. θέσμιον γάρ

τίς ἂν γονὰν \*ἄραϊον ἐκβάλοι δόμων; 1565

κεκόλληται γένος \*πρὸς ἄτα.

ΚΛ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβη ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ ἀντ. ε'.

\*χρησμός. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν

ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν

ὄρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν, 1570

δύσπλητά περ ὄνθ'. ὁ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ'

ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν

τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισι.

κτεάνων τε μέρος

βαῖδ' ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι 1575

μανίας μελάθρων

ἀλληλοφόνους ἀφελούσῃ.

## ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ὦ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου.

φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους

θεοὺς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ,

ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἑρινύων 1580

τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,

χερὸς πατρῴας \*ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.

Ἄτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατήρ,

1563. χρόνῳ MSS. corr. Schütz. 1565. ῥῆον MSS. corr. H.

1566. προσάσαι MSS. corr. Blomf. 1568. χρησμός MSS. 1575.

μοι δ' | ἀλληλοφόνους MSS. δ' has come from hiatus, hiatus from

wrong order; corr. Erfurdt. 1582. ἐκτείνοντα MSS.



πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὥς τορῶς φράσαι,  
 αὐτοῦ τ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κράτει, 1585  
 ἡνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.  
 καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολῶν· πάλιν  
 τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν εὔρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,  
 τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῶον αἰμάξαι πέδον.  
 [αὐτοῦ.] ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατήρ 1590  
 [Ἀτρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως,] πατρὶ  
 τῶμῳ, κρεουργὸν ἡμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν  
 δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.  
 τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας  
 † ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος 1595  
 \* ἄσημ'. ὁ δ' αὐτῶν αὐτὶκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν †  
 ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὥς ὀρᾶς, γένει.  
 κάπειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταίσιον,  
 ὤμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' † ἀπὸ \* σφαγῆν ἐρῶν, †  
 μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, 1600  
 λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶ,  
 οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα.  
 καὶ γὰρ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς.  
 τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπὶ \* δυσαθλίῳ πατρὶ 1605  
 συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις.  
 τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἢ δίκη κατήγαγεν.  
 καὶ τοῦδε τᾶνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν,  
 πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.  
 οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί, 1610

1590-1. Bracketed parts in MSS., but very probably spurious.  
 1595. ἔθρυπτ' Cas. 1596. ἄσημα δ' MSS. text H. D. 1599.  
 ἀν. πίπτει MSS. corr. Cant. σφαγῆς MSS. text Hart. ἐρῶν MSS.  
 ἐμῶν edd. 1605. ἐπὶ δέκ' ἀθλίῳ MSS. text Schöm. Karst.

ιδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

ΧΟ. Αἰγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω.  
 σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν,  
 μόνος δ' ἐποικτον τόνδε βουλεύσαι φόνον·  
 οὗ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκη τὸ σὸν κára 1615  
 δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.

ΑΙ. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέρῳ προσήμενος  
 κώπῃ, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός ;  
 γνώσει γέρων ὧν ὥς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ  
 τῷ τηλικούτῳ, σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον. 1620  
 δεσμός δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αἶ τε νῆστιδες  
 δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν  
 λατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὀρῶν τάδε ;  
 πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ \*παίσας μογῆς.

ΧΟ. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης \*μένων 1625  
 οἰκουρὸς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς \*αἰσχύνas ἄμα  
 ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον ;

ΑΙ. καὶ ταῦτα τᾶπῃ κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῇ.  
 Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ, 1630  
 σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας \*νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν  
 ἄξει· κρατηθεῖς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανεῖ.

ΧΟ. ὥς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,  
 ὃς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,  
 δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως ; 1635

ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς·  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἢ παλαιγενής.  
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι

1611. ἰδόντι Fa. 1613. τόνδ' ἔφης MSS. 1621. δεσμών  
 V. Fl. text Fa. 1624. πῆσας MSS. 1625. τοῦδ' ἤκοντας Stanl.  
 and most edd. text MSS. μένων Wieseler. νέον MSS. 1626. αἰσχύ-  
 νουσ' MSS. corr. Wieseler. 1631. ἡπίοις MSS. corr. Jacob.

ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα  
 ζεύξω βαρελαῖς οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον· 1640  
 κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλής \*σκότῳ  
 λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.

ΧΟ. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες; ἀλλὰ †σὺν γυνῇ  
 χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχαυρίων 1645  
 ἔκτειν'. Ὁρέστης ἄρά που βλέπει φάος,  
 ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρευμενεῖ τύχῃ  
 ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατῆς φονεὺς;

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνώσει τάχα.

ΧΟ. \* \* \* \* \* 1650

ΑΙ. εἶα δὴ φίλοι λοχῖται, τοῦργον οὐκ ἐκὰς τόδε.

ΧΟ. εἶα δὴ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.

ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.

ΧΟ. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' \*αἰ-  
 ρούμεθα. 1653

ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ᾧ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα \*δράσωμεν κακά.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλὰ δύστηνον \*θέρος·  
 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα.  
 †\*στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοῖ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους,  
 \*πεπρωμένοις

πρὶν παθεῖν \*εἷξαντες. ἄρκειν χρῆν τάδ' ὥς ἐπρά-  
 ξαμεν. †

εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις, \*δεχοίμεθ' ἄν,  
 δαίμονος χολῇ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660

1641. κότῳ MSS. Perhaps δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ is right. 1644. σὺν  
 MSS. νιν most edd. σοὶ Sch. 1653. ἐρούμεθα MSS. 1654.  
 δράσομεν MSS. 1655. ὁ ἔρας MSS. corr. Schütz. 1656. ὑπαρχε  
 MSS. ἡματ. MSS. 1657. στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους  
 πεπρωμένους τοῖνδε MSS. στείχε καὶ σὺ χοῖ . . . H. πεπρωμένοις  
 Madv. 1658. παθεῖν. ἔρξαντες καιρὸν Fl. παθεῖν. ἔρξαντα κ. V. Fa.  
 ἔρξαντες. ἀρκεῖν H. text Madv. 1659. γ' ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν MSS. corr. H.

ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι,  
κακβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους,  
σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἁμαρτεῖν, τὸν κρατοῦντά \* θ'  
ὑβρίσαι. 1664

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτειμ' ἔτι.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπευθύνη μολεῖν.

ΑΙ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

ΧΟ. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνου, μιάινων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα.

ΑΙ. ἴσθι μοι δώσων ἅποινα τῇσδε μωρίας χάριν. 1670

ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.

ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσης ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων· \* ἐγὼ  
καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων \* καλῶς.

1664. MSS. have 3 syllables wanting. θ' ὑβρίσαι Blomf. 1672.  
ἐγὼ Cant. Wanting in MSS. 1673. καλῶς Heath. Wanting in  
MSS.



## NOTES.

[PROLOGUE. *The palace of Agamemnon at Argos, at night. Enter on the roof a watchman, who reclines head on arm, and soliloquises:*

(ll. 1-39.) 'For a year I have been watching for the fire to tell of Troy's capture; the life here is one of sadness and anxiety: now I hope for better things.' The light then appears, and he bursts into a shout of joy, broken by gloomy hints at the close.]

l. 1. The place is called Argos, and the people Argeioi, all through the play. According to the old tradition, however, Agamemnon was king of Mykenae, a town about six miles from Argos. Homer (2. 569) enumerates the towns which formed his kingdom. The use of the name Argos for Mykenae was nevertheless common in the Greek poets, and it was all the more natural now, as about B.C. 463 (five years before 458, the date of the play) Argos had defeated and dismantled Mykenae, and sold or expelled the inhabitants. Soon after this the Argeioi became allied with Athens.

The watchman is a loyal servant of Agamemnon, sent to watch for the beacon-fire which is to tell of the capture of Troy. It is possible, however, that the queen wishes for her own purposes to have early tidings of her lord's return. (Patin, Eschyle, 314.)

l. 2. 'Through this long year of watching,' lit. 'through the length of a year's watch.' μήκος, acc. of duration. (It is possible to take φρουράς as app. to πόνων, and μήκος acc. of respect, 'these toils, my watch a year in length,' but it makes a rougher, more artificial, construction. The conjecture μήχος, 'cure,' which D. adopted, is ingenious, but quite unnecessary.) ἦν κοιμώμενος, 'wherein resting.' ἦν cognate or internal acc.

l. 3. στέγαις Ἀτρεΐδων ἀγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην, 'on the roof of the Atreidae couched head on arm, like a dog.' ἀγκαθεν from ἀγκη, 'bent arm' (like the common Homeric ἀγκάς in ἀγκὰς ἐλεῖν, ἀγκὰς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ. 'to hold, or take in the arm'), found Eum. 80 ἀγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας: quite a different word from ἀνέκαθεν (from ἀνω, ἔκαθεν,) 'from above,' which is clearly the right reading in Eum. 369.

Eng., Schn., Dind., read στέγης, and construe ἀγκαθεν, 'above,' con-

tracted from *ἀνέκαθεν*, which makes good sense, but it is unlikely that Aeschylus should have used the rare word *ἀνέκαθεν* in a form syncopated so as to confuse it with the different word *ἀγκαθεν*, which we know he also uses in Eum. 80.

1. 4. *κάτοιδα*, 'I know well,' 'I have learnt to know.'

1. 6. *δυνάστας*, bright 'rulers,' as he finely calls the leading constellations whose rise marks the seasons; not 'the sun and moon,' as Pal., which in no sense bring summer and winter.

1. 7. Is no doubt a gloss. *ἀστέρας* is rough rhythm, a dull repetition after *ἄστρον*, superfluous to the construction with *δυνάστας* in the line before; and the whole line rather produces the effect of bathos.

1. 8. Notice the rhetorical repetitions, *λαμπάδος . . πυρός, φάτιν . . βάξιν. φυλάσσω*, 'I watch for.'

1. 10. *ἀλώσιμον . . βάξιν*, 'tidings of capture,' a rare use of the adj.; in poetry, however, there is hardly any relation to the substantive which the adj. cannot express. *ᾤδε γάρ*, best taken simply, 'for such sway she bears, my mistress' manly heart, nursing her hope,' i.e. for I am forced to obey her. (So Eng., Schn.; Paley's *κρατεῖ ἐλπίζον*, 'confident in hope,' is forced and unusual; and the order is against it.) The phrase is slightly strained but not unnatural. Others take it 'for so she orders' simply: but *κρατεῖ* is not so used.

1. 12. The clause *εὖτ' ἂν . . ἔχω*, is interrupted by the parenthesis *φόβος γὰρ . . ὕπνῳ*, and taken up again loosely but naturally by *ὅταν δέ . .*, so that the general sense is 'and when I keep my weary watch (for fear prevents my sleeping), and try to while away the time by song.'

1. 14. *ἐμήν*, with the double emphasis of being last word of the sentence and first word of the line, is very weak, and is perhaps a corruption of *εὐνήν* in the line before, as Hartung suggests: though neither Bentley's *ἐμοί*, nor Schn.'s *τί μήν*; is satisfactory: and we do find weak words in that position, cf. 1231, 1589. *φόβος*, 'the fear,' is of what will follow when the king returns; but it is only a hint, as in 19 and 31.

1. 15. *τὸ μὴ . . συμβαλεῖν*, a common Greek idiom, being one form of the consecutive infinitive, expressing the *result*, the sense being 'so that I cannot,' 'preventing me from.'

1. 16. *ἀείδειν*. There is a proverb 'singing on watch,' (*φρουρᾶς ᾄδων*) Arist. Clouds, 720. *μινύρομαι*, 'to hum,' or 'warble,' properly 'to sing in a low tone,' used often of birds. The full phrase is found Ar. Eccl. 880 *μυνυρομένη πρὸς ἑμαντήν μέλος* (of a woman waiting and humming a tune to while away the time). *δοκῶ*, 'I think to,' as we say. So Ar. Vesp. 177 *τὸν ὄνον ἐξάγειν δοκῶ*, Av. 671 *φιλησαί μοι δοκῶ*. (The construction is really an attraction into the *personal* from the *impersonal*, instead of saying *δοκεῖ μοι . .* So the Greeks say *δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖν* for *δίκαιόν μοι ἐστὶ ποιεῖν*. See 1079.)

l. 17. 'Shredding in this vocal cure in place of sleep.' ἐντέμνω, 'to slice or shred in,' is used of putting (medicinal) herbs into a potion; so here metaphorically. (K.'s ἐν τέμνω is not happy; if τέμνω is admitted, what more natural than ἐντέμνω?) Observe the mixture of sententiousness and forcible homeliness in the speech of this servant: his repetitions (8-10), and antithesis (11, 21-22), and dark hints (39), and his homely metaphors from watchdogs (3), drugs (71), dicing (32-33), oxen (36), are all characteristic.

l. 19. This cautious phrase might simply mean that the 'absence of the king was felt;' but 'to those who know' (39) it meant the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra.

l. 21. 'When with glad tidings shines the fire of darkness,' a sententious antithesis such as the rustic wit delights in. So νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον, [22. *At this point the beacon he is watching for flashes out.* He is supposed to be looking northward toward the Argolic mountain, Arachnaion, which was the last beacon before Argos, 309.]

l. 22. 'Thou blaze of night, a daylight glare revealing,' is another of his antitheses.

l. 24. συμφορά, 'hap.' 'event,' a neutral word, here in good sense, though mostly used in a bad one.

l. 25. ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ. 'Hurrah!' exclamation of joy here; though more often of horror and woe, as 1214.

l. 26. The MSS. vary between σημαίνω (M. G.) and σημανῶ: the latter expresses his *intention* of telling Klytaemnestra; the former means 'by this cry ἰοῦ I signify to K.,' and that is rather more vigorous, and also suits τορῶς, 'loudly,' better.

l. 27. The constr. is the acc. inf. of the oblique petition, 'I signify that she should rise from her bed and upraise a shout,' etc. ἐπαντείλασαν (notice the syncope, for ἐπ-ανα-τείλασαν), a picturesque word suggesting the rise of sun or star. δόμοις might be dat. recip. 'for the house;' but more likely it is the *local* use 'in the house,' an old fashion surviving in poetry.

l. 29. εἴπερ, 'since,' as often.

l. 30. ἀγγέλλων πρόπει, 'brightly tells,' lit. 'shines telling.' Again a picturesque phrase. (ἀγγέλων of Med. etc. is clearly an error.)

l. 31. [*Here the watchman executes a triumphal dance.*]

ll. 32-33. These two lines become clear when one sees that the metaphor is all from dicing: 'My master's luck I'll mark as prosperous, now that this fire has thrown me sixes three.' θέσθαι, 'to put it down,' as we say; somewhat as θέσθαι παρ' οὐδέν, ἐν ἀδικήματι θέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

l. 34. δ' οὖν. The regular use of these particles is in *dismissing a subject, cutting short* a train of thought, *resuming* after a digression, and such situations. ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον Soph. O. C. 1205, οὐκ αἶδ'.



ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγῇ βαρὺ *ib.* Ant. 1250. So Ag. 224, 255, 'Well, be it mine to grasp my lord's dear hand.'

1. 35. βασιτάξω, prop. 'to bear, or lift,' so 'to feel,' 'to hold.' χέρα ἀλόχου β. Eur. Alc. 917; σῶμα β. Soph. O. C. 1105.

1. 36. The first shadow of the tragedy falls on the almost boisterous joy and playfulness of the rustic watcher, namely the dark hint of the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra, which is to lead to the 'worse that remains behind.' βοὺς ἐπὶ γλώσση .. βέβηκε, 'a huge ox stands upon my tongue,' a pithy rustic metaphor for enforced silence; βοὺς meaning simply a heavy weight (the idea of a reference to *bribery*—βοὺς being the ox on the old Attic coins—is less likely). βέβηκε, 'stands,' 'lies,' present sense, as is natural to perfect. So χώρος ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν, 'where we stand,' Soph. O. C. 52; ἐπὶ πώλου βεβῶσαν, 'riding,' 'seated,' *ib.* O. C. 313.

1. 38. ὥς, 'for,' gives the reason for σιγῇ. ἐκὼν, 'purposely,' goes with λήθομαι chiefly (as Eng., Schn., Pal., point out), the first verb, αὐδῶ, being less important. (Observe the Epic μαθούσι for τοῖς μ.) 'For purposely, as I speak to those who know, to those who know not—I forget.' λήθομαι is rather unexpected, and is another touch of what may be almost called his rustic playfulness. With this dark hint he goes off; and the chorus of Argive elders enter the orchestra by the side passage (πάροδος). The proper choral odes begin 104.

[PARODOS. ll. 40-103. *Enter the chorus, marching in time to the anapaestic song.* The general sense of the opening or entrance song is as follows: 'Ten years are passed since the Atreidae sailed forth with the fleet for vengeance, like vultures robbed of their young (40-54). Zeus Xenios is wroth with Paris and sends the avenging host, bringing long struggles for both sides, and the end to be as fate wills' (55-71). *Meanwhile the queen Klytaemnestra appears, and begins the preparations for sacrifice.* 'What hast thou heard, lady? See, all the altars begin to blaze! What does it mean? We waver between anxiety and hope' (72-103).]

ll. 40-42. 'This is the tenth year since Priam's great foe King Menelaos and Agamemnon.' It has been noticed as odd that μέγας ἀντίδικος should be applied only to Menelaos, and that Agamemnon, the 'king of men,' is second. It may be only accidental, as in the next two lines (δχυρὸν ζεύγος) and below (109 δίθρονον κράτος) they are treated with equal honour. Or, perhaps, ἀντίδικος is used strictly, and Menelaos comes first as the wronged party, Agamemnon being his helper. ἀντίδικος, metaphor from law-courts, meaning simply 'antagonist.' ἐπεὶ and even ὅτε are used in this sense 'since;' the precise phrase is ἐξ οὗ.

1. 43. διθρόνου .. τιμῆς, gen. of *description* or *equivalence* as it is called, one of the numerous shades of *relation* described by genitive.

Translate, 'The mighty pair of Atreus' sons, each dowered from Zeus with rank of throne and sceptre.' (It is literally, 'pair of Atreidae, of two-throned honour,' etc., i.e. 'consisting of;' the *τιμή* is the abstract aspect of the kings.) Grammatically *τιμῆς* and *Ἀτρειδᾶν* are parallel, both being gen. after *ζεύγος*. *Διόθεν* qualifies the adjectives. *Ἀτρειδᾶν*, Doric gen.; the choruses contain many Doric forms.

l. 47. *ἦραν*, 'sped;' *αἶρω*, prop. 'to lift,' is used commonly for 'to start,' both trans. *στόλον*, *στρατόν*, and intrans. *στρατῶ*, *ναυσί*, both of land and sea. It probably originally meant simply 'to take up' your things and be off.

l. 49. *τρόπον* (acc. of *apposition* to sentence, like *δίκεν*, *χάρων*), 'like.'

l. 50. *οὔτε*, Epic form of rel. *ἐκπατίους* (*πάτος*, 'path'), 'out of the path,' may mean either 'strange,' 'unbounded,' 'terrible,' or 'lonely;' the latter very well suits the eagles wheeling over their craggy nests; and is the meaning given by the Scholiast. *παίδων*, 'for their young.' Gen. of relation, common after words of feeling, as anger, grief, surprise, etc.

l. 51. *ὑπατοὶ λεχέων*, 'high o'er their nest.' *ὑπατος* governing gen. much as *ὑπέρ* does, by a slight extension of usage.

l. 52. 'The oarage of their wing,' a fine phrase for the flight of large birds. Lucretius, 6. 743, imitates (*remigi oblita pennarum*) and Vergil has followed (*remigio alarum*, Aen. 1. 301, 6. 19).

l. 53. *δεμνιοτήρη πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες*, 'having lost the guardian-task of their brood,' i.e. 'the task of keeping the nest:' the adj. describes in what the task consists. The word occurs again 1449, in the sense of 'keeping the bed,' i.e. 'confining to bed' of sickness.

l. 55. 'Above there is one that hears, either Apollo,' etc. Observe idiomatic use of *τις*, where we should say 'perchance,' so Verg. Aen. 1. 182 '*Anthea si quem iactatum vento videat*.' Apollo protects the birds as god of augury: Pan as god of the forest and wild animals: Zeus as god of justice. (Schn.)

l. 56. Notice the loaded adjectives, in Aeschylus' weighty manner, 'the shrill lament of winged mourners who dwell in his skies:' *μετοίκων* being a finely imaginative word: the birds are the *sojourners* in the god's home.

l. 59. *παραβᾶσιν*, 'to the transgressors,' the older Epic use of the partic. without *τοῖς*. So *μαθοῦσι* 38.

l. 61. *ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, 'against Paris;' *ἐπί* with dat. lit. 'on' (as we say, 'he marched on Rome'). It is an Epic use, see illustrations on 357; in Attic and prose it would be acc. *ξένιος*, because the crime of the rape of Helen was an offence against the sacred laws of hospitality, which were under the protection of Zeus Xenios.

l. 62. *πολυάνορος*, 'wooed by many a suitor.'

1. 64. Gen. abs. 'when the knee is bowed in the dust.' ἐραιδομένου. lit. 'resting.'

1. 65. προτέλεια, 'the prelude,' usually the sacrifice before marriage (τέλος, 'rite'); here the 'prelude of the battle,' but suggesting the other sense, that the fighting was a bitter *marriage-prelude* for Paris.

1. 67. ἔστι δπη νῦν ἔστι, 'the issue is—as it is now,' an intentionally enigmatic sentence. In the mouth of the chorus it naturally means 'there is good news; the Trojans are vanquished' (though they do not as yet know the details). But to the spectators it has a second and deeper meaning, as Agamemnon is returning to find unfaithfulness, conspiracy, and murder, and so in a terrible sense τελείται ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον, 'it draws to its fated end.'

The Greek dramas are full of such double meanings, bearing only a single sense to the speaker; and the contrast between the two senses, or between the position of the speaker as he conceived it, and as it was known to the audience, often formed most effective situations, of Dramatic Irony, as it has been called.

ll. 69-71. ὑποκαίων of the MSS. gives a tiresome repetition with δακρύων, so I have taken Casaubon's ὑποκαίων (adopted by Eng., Schn.), making a very natural antithesis of *offering* and *libation*. The sense will then be, 'Neither by secret offering, nor by secret libation, nor by tears shall one soothe their stubborn wrath (i.e. the gods' wrath) for the unburnt sacrifices.' Again a double meaning. (1) In the chorus' mouth it means, 'The Trojans cannot soothe their angry gods by any expiation;' but (2) to the spectators it has a second deeper sense, 'Agamemnon cannot by any offering assuage the anger of the gods for his sacrifice of Iphigeneia.' It is hard however to be sure what is the meaning of ἀπύρων ἱερῶν in (1), or the surface sense, it may mean 'rejected sacrifice' (offering which will not burn); or as Schn., Pal., 'unholy rite' (rite without fire, i.e. the marriage of Helen and Paris); or thirdly, as Enger, 'Shall soothe the stubborn wrath of the unlit sacrifice,' the wrath of the god being transferred to the sacrifice which will not burn.

1. 72. ἀτίται, 'unhonoured' is the best sense (though the termination is rare in passive sense, cp. ἀφέτης, κηροδέτης). [Others say 'not-paying,' i.e. either 'not serving' or 'not avenging;' but both are less smooth and natural.]

1. 73. ἀρωγῆς, common gen. after λείπεσθαι, ἡσσᾶσθαι, etc., like gen. after comparative, 'left out of the army that gave aid.'

1. 77. ἀνίσσων, 'leaping' (H., Dind., Schn., Eng.), better far than ἀνάσσω, 'ruling' (MSS. and Pal.). The gen. sense is, 'the strength of the old is like children's (ἰσχνὸν ἰσόπαιδα); for the very young vigour is as unfit for war as the very old feebleness.' In 76-82 he simply develops the idea 'the old are no better than children.'

l. 78. ἰσόπρεσβυς, 'is like unto age,' i.e. the vigour of boyhood is yet no fitter for war than decrepit age. Ἄρης .. χώρῃ, 'and Ares is not in his place,' i.e. is not *there* in his place, his place being the full-grown man. κατὰ χώραν is the prose phrase for ἐν χώρῃ.

l. 79. τὸ θ' ὑπέργῃρων, 'and the last old age,' the neuter expressing the class, like τὸ νέον, τὸ καλόν; by a loose but natural construction it becomes masc. at 81, στείχει, a vivid personal verb, having prepared the way.

The MSS. are corrupt, only Fa. reads as above. We might read τὴ θ' ὑπέργῃρων, 'what of the very old?' with Eng., but prefer to follow Fa., the question being not very idiomatic or natural.

l. 80. τρὶ ποδας, 'the three-foot ways' are of course the old men walking with a stick.

l. 82. 'He strays, a mid-day dream,' a feeble shadowy life. The day-dream being even more unreal than the night-dream.

[While this song has been singing, the queen Klytaemnestra comes out and begins to make arrangements for the sacrificing, lighting up the altars and ordering about her train of maidens. The chorus address her directly.]

l. 83. Τυνδάρεω, irregular gen. from Τυνδαρεύς, as though Ionic gen. of Τυνδάρης.

l. 87. πευθοῖ, 'from hearing,' most MSS. have πειθοῖ, 'from belief,' a commoner but less appropriate word. Fl. has πυθοῖ, which suggests the real reading. περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς, 'art sacrificing by word sent round?' i.e. 'art sending round the word to sacrifice?' περίπεμπτα being adverbial (strictly, in agreement with cogn. acc.). θυοσκεῖς, MSS. θυοσκινεῖς, probably corrupted to complete the full line. The right word, θυοσκεῖς, is restored from Hesych. (θυος, κα- κάω, 'to burn offering.')

l. 88. 'And of all the gods that guard our city, above, below, in the heavens, in the mart.' ἀστυνόμοι, the same as the commoner words πολιοῦχοι and πολιισούχοι. ἑπατοὶ were gods like Zeus, Apollo, Hera, etc. χθόνιοι were Ge, Pluto, Hermes, Eumenides, etc.

The other antithesis, 'in the heavens, in the mart,' is less obvious, but by ἀγοραῖοι he probably means those who do specially preside over the city-life; by οὐράνιοι those who do not. Ἀγοραῖος is applied to Zeus (Eum. 979), to Hermes (Ar. Eq. 297), to Artemis and Athena (Paus. 3. 11. 9). (In Theb. 257 τοῖς πολιισούχοις θεοῖς Πεδιονόμοις τε κάγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις, a different division is apparently meant, 'all our native gods, of the country and the town.')

l. 93. ἀνίσχει, 'arises,' intrans., as often from Homer onwards, esp. of the sun. See Lexicon.

l. 94. 'The pure unguent's soft and guileless spell' is a thoroughly

Aeschylean phrase, loaded and imaginative. It is called 'guileless' probably simply because *παρηγορία*, 'persuasion,' was so often guileful: the persuasion of oil to fire is genuine.

l. 96. *πίλανος*, 'a clot or lump' of solid or thick liquid, so here of oil. *μυχόθεν*, 'from the inner store,' adv. used (with the looseness of the primitive style of Aeschylus) to qualify the subs. *πιλάνω*.

The MSS. reading *βασίλειω* quite good. It is needless to alter it to *-ων*.

l. 97. *λέξασα . . παιών τε γενοῦ*, the *τε* is not wanted, but it is a very natural anacoluthon. (Eng., Hart., Karst., etc., read *λέξας*, which sets the grammar right, but is needless.)

l. 98. *αἰνεῖν*, in old sense, 'to tell of.'

l. 100. 'Which now is bitter, and now again hope from the altar fires bright shining drives back the relentless care of the grief that gnaws the heart.' The change in the constr. is very natural, and more effective than if he had finished the sentence strictly, 'and now again is lighter,' or something of that sort.

l. 101. I keep *ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'*, on the whole nearest to the MSS., *φαίνουσα* meaning 'shining,' common intransitive use.

l. 103. The reading is Hermann's; the only practical question is whether we should read *τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης* or *τὴν θυμόβορον φρένα λύπην*. The latter is in apposition to *φροντίδ'*, the former is governed by it. I follow H., Schn., Eng., in preferring the genitive; the mass of accusatives is so very clumsy. In either case *φρένα* is governed by the adj., a rare construction. Cp. 1090 *πολλὰ συνίστορα*, Pr. 904 *ἄπορα πόριμος*, Soph. Antig. 786 *σὲ φύξιμος*, where however the adjectives are more like simple verbals, and so the construction is easier.

[*Klytaemnestra has finished her preparations and has retired.*]

ll. 104-257. The general outline of the chorus' songs from here to the end 257 is as follows:

*Strophe* 1. (104-121.) I can tell the tale of victory, and the signs that went before—I yet am young enough for song—the omen of the two eagles, devouring a pregnant hare. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Antistrophe* 1. (122-139.) Kalchas the wise seer knew the sign, and prophesied: 'One day this host shall capture Troy. Only I pray no wrath of gods may strike it, for Artemis is angered against the eagles and pities the hare.' (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Epode* (140-159). 'I pray Artemis therefore, though she loves the wild beasts, to suffer the triumph of the eagle princes. And Paean Apollo I invoke, to stay her from raising adverse gales, while she urges on a lawless sacrifice, the slaughter of a child, fraught with evils to

the house.' So Kalchas spake. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Str. B.* (160-166). Zeus—whate'er his rightful name—is the greatest of all.

*Ant. B.* (167-175). Ouranos and Kronos are passed away—Zeus is the victor.

*Str. γ.* (176-183). Zeus has appointed a law, that man shall learn by suffering, reluctant though he be.

*Ant. γ.* (184-191). So then Agamemnon—uncomplaining, when the host was wind-bound and suffering at Aulis [*Str. δ.* 192-204], and the delay was destroying the ships and men—but when Kalchas advised a bitter cure, the slaughter of Iphigeneia, to appease Artemis [*Ant. δ.* 205-216], then Agamemnon spake: 'Tis evil to disobey, and evil to obey, how can I slay my child? how forsake my comrades?' [*Str. ε.* 217-226]. So he bowed to necessity, and undertook the impious deed, misled by Madness the source of woe, and he slew his child. [*Ant. ε.* 228-237]. Her youth and prayers they set at nought, and like a kid they raised her to the altar, in her flowing robes, and stifled her cries. [*Str. ε.* 238-246]. She bared her breast, like a picture, striking all with pity; for often she had sung to them in her father's halls. [*Ant. ε.* 247-257]. The rest I cannot tell; it was accomplished. For the future—let it come; what skills foreboding? Our friendly wish is that all may be well.

*While the chorus sings, the day is supposed to break; and when Klytaemnestra returns (255) it is broad day.]*

l. 104. κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν, 'I am he that shall sing,' 'I am the man to tell.' κύριος is 'the one who has the power,' 'the right one.' κυρία the right or appointed day. κράτος αἰσιον, 'the fated victory,' slightly strained but natural sense of κράτος. αἰσιος is properly used of omens, 'auspicious,' and is here transferred from the omens (ὄδιον) to the victory. ὄδιον, 'foretold by signs upon the way;' there were various kinds of omens—entrails, the flight of birds, chance cries, and signs on the way, ἐνοδίου τε συμβόλους Pr. 487. So in Ar. Ran. 197 the slave, being unlucky, says, τῷ συνέτυχον ἐξιών; 'what can have met me when I came out?'

l. 105. ἐκτελέων. Pal. takes this as a partic.—'accomplishing,' i.e. 'singing the accomplishment.' It is less harsh to take it as gen. of adj. ἐκτελής, 'complete,' 'consummate,' used in strained sense for 'royal,' 'high.' H., Schn., Eng., read ἐντελέων; needless, because it is equally used off its meaning, and MSS. all give ἐκτ. ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν .. αἰών, a well-known difficulty, about which numerous conjectures have been made. Only four views are near enough to the MSS. to be worth mentioning; the full reading of the MSS. is: ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει πειθῶ μολπὰν ἀλκὰν ξυμφυτος αἰών. (I) Goodwin

(Amer. Phil. Ass. Trans. 1877) defends the MSS., and puts a comma at *μολπᾶν*: 'For still Persuasion from the gods breathes song upon me, still my old age (breathes) strength to sing.' It is very ingenious, but the antithesis (which the absence of 'and' emphasises) is harsh, 'age' and 'persuasion' being so unconnected, and the *point* surely is simply 'I am not too old to sing.' (2) Enger reads *μολπᾶν*, and makes *μολπᾶν ἄλκᾶν* an apposition to *πειθῶ*: 'Still my age breathes from the gods upon me Persuasion, the strength of song.' (Old though I am, I am still inspired.) (3) H., Pal., Schn., etc., read *μολπᾶν* and *ἀλκᾶ*, though interpreting differently: 'Still age growing with strength (i.e. "not yet decrepit") breathes on me persuasion of song' (Pal.), or 'Still Persuasion of song breathes (intr.) upon me, namely the time commensurate with the war,' H., Schn., Kl. Paley's is good sense, though *ἀλκᾶ σύμφυτος* is harsh. Hermann's is very harsh and obscure and indeed impossible. (4) Prof. Campbell neatly suggests *πειθοῖ μολπᾶν ἄλκᾶν*, which he translates, 'by persuasion of song my life breathes valour.' Better take it, 'by persuasion from heaven my age yet breathes the strength of song,' the only *ἀλκή* I have is that of song. On the whole I prefer (2): and next best (4) or (3) with Paley's interpretation.

l. 109. *ὅπως*, 'how,' takes up the first clause, *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν*, after the parenthesis. 'The twin sovereign power, ruling with one heart,' is a characteristic Aeschylean abstract phrase for the Atreidae.

l. 110. *ξύμφρονα τάγαν*, 'ruler of one heart;' the singular is strange, but due probably to *κράτος*. See 41, 112. [It must be *τάγαν*, acc. of *τάγης*, 'a leader,' not *ταγάν*, acc. of *τάγή*, 'rule.'] Keck suggests *ἤβαν ξύμφρονα ταγοῖν*, 'friendly might of the princes.' Ingenious.

l. 111. *πράκτορι*, 'avenging,' from *πράσσειν* in a special sense, 'to exact.' Eum. 624, *τὸν πατρὸς φόνον πράξαντα*. The MSS. here have *σὺν δῦρι δίκας πράκτορι*, a plain gloss; fortunately the line is rightly quoted in Ar. Ran. 1288.

l. 112. 'The fierce bird' (*θούριος*, from *θυ-*, first 'smoke,' then 'violent movement or impulse') is said to 'send the kings to Troy,' because the sight of the eagles tearing the hare was the omen that encouraged them. *θούριος ὄρνις* becomes plural in the next line, but easily, by help of the adjectives.

l. 115. *ὁ κελαινὸς . . ἀργᾶς*, 'one black, one white of tail:' the black one is no doubt Agamemnon, the white-tail Menelaos (*ἀργᾶς*, alluding to *Ἄργος*, as often). Aristotle (Hist. Anim. 9. 32) aptly says, 'the largest eagle is the *White-tail* . . the strongest is that called the *Black Eagle* or *Hare-slayer*.' Perhaps Menelaos is intentionally hinted at as the less courageous.

l. 116. *χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου*, i.e. 'on the right,' the lucky side for omens: the Greek augurs looking North, and the luck coming from the

East. Hence *δεξιός* gets a secondary meaning, 'favourable.' Notice *ἐκ* where we say 'on;' to the spectator the vision *comes from* right (subjective), but it *is on* the right (objective).

l. 119. *φέρματα* is Hartung's excellent emendation for *φέρματι*, the MSS. reading still retained by many. Those who retain it have to explain how *γένναν* can mean the *mother*, and how it can agree with *βλαβέντα*; a feat which they attempt. With *φέρματα* it is both easier and far more effective, 'rending the hare's young, an unborn brood, checked from their after-roamings;' *λαγίναν γένναν* will then be not the mother, but the unborn young within her. *βλαβέντα*, etc., neither hare nor young can roam any more, the eagles devour them.

l. 121. 'Echo the cry of wail; but let the good prevail.' In the refrain, fear and hope are mixed; the reason for the foreboding is not yet told; it occurs below.

l. 122. 'The good seer of the host' is of course Kalchas. *δύο λήμασι δισοοῦς* of the MSS. is meaningless; to say 'two differing in spirit,' as Paley takes it, is irrelevant; he is comparing 'the royal pair' to the two eagles; he calls them abòve *ξύμφρονα τάγαν*, 'princes one in heart;' and their *union* is the point wanted, not their *difference*. We had better therefore read *λήμασιν ἴσους* (τ according to the Epic scansion) with Dind., Eng.

l. 123. *ἔδᾱη . . ἀρχάς*, 'knew the hare-devourers and the leaders of the host,' i. e. 'knew that the hare-devourers *were* the leaders;' *ἀρχάς*, abst. for concr., like *δίθρονον κράτος*. Others take *πομποῦς ἀρχάς*, 'the powers conducting,' i. e. the *birds*, whose omen led them; a much more far-fetched meaning.

l. 126. *ἀγρεῖ*, the prophetic present, as though the seer saw it happening. *κέλευθος*, lit. 'path,' i. e. 'expedition,' 'armament.' 'One day shall this host capture the city of Priam.'

l. 127. 'And all the gathered wealth of the people before the battlements Fate shall ravage with violent hand.' So the MSS. *πρόσθε*, which can be best taken with *πύργων*, and makes good sense. Others needlessly read *πρὸς δὲ τὰ . .*, i. e. 'the wealth of the towers, and likewise the people's stores.'

l. 130. *πρὸς τὸ βίαιον*, like the commoner *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, lit. 'towards' violence, wrath, etc., i. e. 'violently.' So Prom. 214, *πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν*.

l. 131. *οἶον*, 'only.' *ἄγα*, 'envy'—Hermann's certain correction for the MSS. *ἄτα*, which will not scan and makes a worse meaning. *προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρατωθέν . .* 'lower on the mighty curb of Troy (i. e. the Greek army), the embattled host, stricken before its time (i. e. before it reaches the foe).' The seer darkly foretells here the wrath of Artemis, which was to delay the host at Aulis.



l. 135. οἶκφ, to say 'the pure maiden is wroth *against the house*,' meaning the family of Agamemnon, is no doubt sense; but the correction οἶκτφ makes infinitely better sense; 'for from pity Artemis the pure maiden is wroth with the winged hounds (eagles) of her sire.' In this way we are saved the harsh apposition οἶκφ .. κυσί. Other corrections, οἶκοι, οἶω, need not be considered. οἶκτφ is due to Schömann.

l. 136. πτανοῖσι κυσί, 'the winged hounds,' i. e. the eagles. Cf. Prom. 1022, Διὸς δέ τοι πτηνὸς κυὼν δαφεινὸς αλετὸς. The bearing of this is a little obscure, but it is of this kind: The sign of the eagles is an encouraging sign to the Greeks, boding victory; but as Artemis is offended by the eagles devouring the hare, so she is wroth with the Greeks; and her anger may do harm.

l. 137. αὐτότοκον, adj. used rather strangely = αὐτοῖς τοῖς τόκοις, 'young and all.' So αὐτόχθονος 536, αὐτόπρεμος Eum. 401, αὐτόκωπος Cho. 163. πρὸ λόχου, 'before the birth.'

ll. 140-145. With the ordinary readings ἀ καλὰ (140) and αἰτεῖ (144). This passage is taken to mean, in general sense, 'Though so gentle to all the young of beasts, the goddess asks for the accomplishment of these omens, good and evil alike.' The difficulty is, why should Artemis *ask* for the accomplishment of the cruelty which she hates (στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον)? Schütz suggests τούτων, αἰτῶ, ξύμβολα κρᾶναι, optative, 'may she accomplish.' It is much better to read, with all the MSS. but one, καλὰ (vocative), for ἀ καλὰ, and read αἶνει (imper.) for αἰτεῖ. It then will run 'Though so kindly to the tender young of mighty lions, O fair maiden, and loving the suckling brood of all the wild wood beasts, yet *consent* to the accomplishment of the signs of these things, visions of good and ill.' This makes 140-145 addressed to Artemis, as 146-155 is to Apollo.

l. 141. I take the generally adopted λεπτοῖς for the meaningless MS. δέπτοις: in the original uncials A and Δ were very near.

l. 145. στρουθῶν is clearly corrupt, as it lengthens α of φάσματα, and as there is nothing about 'sparrows' here at all. It has got in by some one confusing this story with the story of the sign of the sparrows in ll. 2. 311.

l. 146. Παιᾶνα, 'the healer,' well-known name of Apollo. Ἰήϊος, also name of Apollo; said to be from ἰή, and to mean 'invoked with the cry,' like εἰός for Dionysos.

l. 148. χρονίας ἐχενῆδας ἀπλοίας, 'adverse gales, long delaying the fleet.' (ἐχενῆς from ἔχω-ναῦς, 'ship-detaining'.)

l. 150. τεύξῃ, i. e. Artemis. Apollo is asked to prevail with his sister not to delay the host by adverse winds.

l. 151. θυσίαν, the 'other sacrifice, lawless, unfeasting,' is the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigeneia, which Agamemnon made to appease

Artemis, as told below. The *δαῖς* being the feast on the meat of the sacrifice, this offering was clearly *ἄδαιτος*.

l. 152. 'A seed of strife clinging to the race (*σύμφυτον*) fruitful of rebellion against the lord' (lit. 'not fearing the lord' of the house), the last words being a dark hint of the murder that awaits Agamemnon from the faithless Klytaemnestra.

ll. 154, 155. A characteristic instance of Aeschylus' accumulation of phrase. Here are six adjectives and one substantive. 'For wrath abides, rising again, haunting the house with guile, unforgetting, avenging the children.'

l. 157. *μόρσιμα*, a euphemism for 'evils.' 'Such fated ills, yet with great blessings, sang Kalchas from omens on the way,' etc.

l. 161. 'Zeus, whoe'er he be, if by this name it please him to be called;' *τῷδε*, i. e. Zeus alone, without other more definite title.

l. 164. *οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι*, either 'I cannot conjecture,' i. e. 'refer it all to any but Zeus,' or better and simpler, 'I cannot compare any but Zeus (to Zeus),' i. e. 'Zeus is incomparably above all.'

l. 165. *εἰ τὸ μάταν . . ἐτητύμως*, 'if in good truth I must cast from me the vain load of care.' *τὸ μάταν ἄχθος* describes 'the *vague* foreboding,' 'ill-defined, shadowy care.' The sense is therefore: if I am to get rid of my vague and gloomy forebodings, I must rest on Zeus as the greatest of all. Others K., Schn., etc., take *μάταν* as *proleptic*; 'cast away my care so as to be vain,' which is not so good.

l. 170. *οὐδὲ λέγεται πρὶν ὧν*, lit. 'will not even be spoken of as having been of old,' i. e. 'his day is past, we shall not even tell of him.' The MSS. read *οὐδὲν λέγει πρὶν ὧν* or *οὐδὲν τι λέγει* (Fa.), which will neither scan nor construe. The above correction is the slightest and the best; it is due to Ahrens, and is adopted by Eng., Schn., and later D. The allusion is to Ouranos, the father of Kronos, whom Kronos conquered and dethroned; exactly the same fate awaited Kronos himself from the hand of his own son Zeus.

l. 171. *ὃς δ' ἐπειτ' ἔφν*, Kronos. *τριακτῆρος*, lit. 'one who throws thrice (*τρία*, *τρεις*) in a wrestle,' the three throws being necessary for victory. So *τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων* Eum. 589, *διὰ τριῶν ἀπόλλυμαι* Eur. Or. 434.

l. 174. 'Shouts the triumph-song of Zeus.' *ἐπινίκια*, cogn. acc.

l. 175. See Appendix II.

l. 177. *τὸν πάθει μάθος . . ἔχειν*, 'who has appointed *wisdom by suffering* as a sure law,' i. e. 'that wisdom shall be learnt by suffering.' MSS. read *τῷ πάθει* by a natural error.

l. 179. *στάζει*, 'trickles,' intr., the most natural meaning. (Not as Pal. 'drops wisdom,' understanding *τὸ σωφρονεῖν* in the acc. *ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ*: the *θ'* is odd. Schömann's *ἀνθ' ὕπνου* is ingenious and probable.)

l. 180. *καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας*, 'and wisdom comes to men in their despite,' i. e. by suffering, by ways they would not choose.

l. 182. The MSS. read *δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις, βιαίως σέλιμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων*, usually construed, 'and surely 'tis a favour of the gods, seated in might upon their solemn thrones.' Only *βιαίως* cannot mean 'mightily,' it must mean 'with force or violence.' The best alteration is perhaps Schömann's *βίαιος*, with comma after it: 'and the gods' favour is oft forced on men, the gods who sit on their glorious thrones.' In fact, another expression of the same truth as *παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν*. But perhaps it is altogether corrupt.

l. 186. The poet returns to the narrative. The connection of this intervening religious ode with the story seems to be this: The seer warned Agamemnon of the mixed good and evil that was in store for him, and especially foreboded the evil results of the child's slaughter (154-5); but Agamemnon, in spite of all, did the deed, and incurred the curse. *Zeus is above all, and has ordained that man shall only be taught by suffering.* *καὶ τόθ'*, application of the general reflections to the special case; 'so then.'

l. 187. *ἐμπαλοῖς*, literally, 'striking upon,' i. e. 'his stormy lot,' prob. the same met. as *συμπνέων*, 'not breathing against,' i. e. 'yielding to.' So again, 219.

l. 189. *βαρύνοντ'*, imperf. augment omitted, as often in the choruses.

l. 190. *Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων*, 'camped on the shore that faced toward Chalkis,' i. e. at Aulis, opp. to Chalkis in Euboea. *πέραν* usu. taken as adv. and *ἔχων* intr., but it is prob. the acc. of the old word *πέρα* (which of course the adv. is originally), and means 'holding the other side.' We have the gen. (read by M. and Schol.) *πέρας* in Supp. 262 *ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας*.

l. 191. *παλιρρόχοις*, 'eddyding,' 'surging back.' MSS. read *παλιρρόθοις*, with same meaning; altered to suit metre, *βίαιος σελ-*, 183.

l. 192. *Στρυμόνος*. The Strymon was the great river of Thrace, which flowed out past Amphipolis. The N.E. wind would bar their passage out of the strait at Aulis. Notice the piling up of adjectives here again, as in l. 154.

l. 195. *βροτῶν ἄλαι*, in a kind of strange apposition, lit. 'wanderings of mortals,' i. e. 'drifting men away.' *βροτῶν* opp. to *νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων*.

l. 196. *παλιμμήκης*, as we say, 'as long again,' 'lengthening out the time twice-told.'

l. 197. *τρίβω*, 'with wasting,' rarer for *τριβή*.

l. 199. 'Another cure of the bitter tempest,' their ordinary sacrifices having been vain for long.

l. 201. *προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν*, 'pleading (the wrath of) Artemis.'

1. 202. *χθόνα ἐπικρούσαντας*, in rage, of course. So Achilles in Homer, *ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ* Il. 1. 245.

1. 206. *κῆρ*, 'fate,' old Epic word.

1. 210. This line in the MSS. does not correspond with the strophe (197): and both show rather a strange metre at the end: accordingly I adopt Hermann's *Ἀργούς* and Schömann's *πρὸ βωμοῦ* for *βωμοῦ πέλας*.

1. 211. *τί τῶνδ' ἀνευ κακῶν*; i. e. 'whichever I choose is woe.'

1. 212. 'How can I (bear to) desert my fleet, and lose my comrades?' i. e. to have the whole expedition broken up, by not taking the only means. First the fleet scatters (*ξυμ. ἀμ.*), then the disgrace of the failure falls on Agamemnon.

1. 216. MSS. read *ὀργᾷ περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν*, 'to long, desiring with desire,' an almost Eastern fulness and repetition. The subject of *ἐπιθυμεῖν* is 'the comrades,' or *ξύμμαχοι*. This might do, but Schömann's correction, *περιόργω σφ'*, improves sense and structure.

ll. 217 sqq. 'But when he had shouldered the yoke of necessity, breathing an impious veering gale of spirit, unblest, unholy—then his heart turned to thoughts of uttermost daring.' Lit. 'he changed his purpose (*μετέγνω*) so as to devise' (*φρονεῖν*, *epexeg. inf.*). *τροπαίαν*, 'veering gale,' because he gave up the struggle and went straight for the wicked deed.

1. 220. Some put comma at *μετέγνω*, take *τόθεν* relative (as it is in Epic, and may easily be in Aesch.), and *ἔτλα δ' οὖν* as the principal verb. So Pal. quoting Schol. as authority: the Schol. however is so wrong about the rest of the line, that it may be wrong about *τόθεν*; and the pointing in the text is in any case clearer and better.

1. 222. Notice the piled adjectives again, 'fell distraction, base-devising, the fountain of woe.'

1. 224. *δ' οὖν*, see 34. 'Well—he had the heart to be the slayer,' as though he said, 'However it may be (with the general remarks about *παρακοπά*) *anyhow* the fact was so.'

1. 225. *ἀρωγάν* and *προτέλεια* are acc. in apposition to the *action* or the *sentence*, as often in Greek, 'to aid the war . . . for the fleet an expiation.' *προτέλεια*, 'the preliminary sacrifice' (see l. 65) before the fleet could go. Observe the significant antithesis, *θυγατρόςγ . . νυαικοποιῶν*, 'he slew a *daughter* . . to help in vengeance for a *wife*.' The daughter is a blood-relation, the wife a stranger.

ll. 227-250. The astonishing beauty of this passage has struck all readers from that day to this; it is at once melodious, imaginative, picturesque, and overpoweringly pathetic. It suggests many touches in Lucretius' fine picture of the sacrifice, l. 87-100.

'And her prayers, and her cries of "father," and her maiden prime they set at nought, the bloodthirsty judges . . .'

It is disputed whether κληδόνας means 'her appeals to the name,' or 'the name,' whether Ag. disregarded her calling him father, or his own fatherly feelings. The first is better.

l. 229. παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθεντο. Exactly the English 'set at nought,' literally used of estimating, reckoning in an account.

l. 230. βραβῆς are properly 'those who preside at a contest,' and so used here picturesquely of Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 231. φράσεν, no augment, 189.

ἀδύοις, 'the ministers,' 'the attendants.' (ἀ-όδ-ι-ος, 'on the road with,' 'accompanying,' like ἀ-κλούθ-ος; the ἀ- appears in ἀ-λοχ-ος, 'bed-fellow,' ἀ-δελφός, 'born of the same womb,' etc. Curt. 598.)

l. 233. πέπλοισι περιπετή, 'with her robes flowing round her.' πέπλοισι, dat. respect.

l. 234. παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῇ. It is possible, and tempting at first sight, to take these words together, 'with all her spirit drooping;' but it is more like Greek to refer παντὶ θυμῷ to the ἄοχοι; the order of the words then marks the sharp antithesis, 'he bade the ministers unfaltering raise the drooping maid.' (So ἅπαντι θυμῷ Eum. 738.) They were to be eager, she was fainting with fear and grief.

l. 235. The MSS. read φυλακάν. We might retain this and construe φυλακάν κατασχεῖν, 'to hold guard,' i.e. 'to check,' φθόγγον being the object accusative by a loose but not uncommon construction (like Soph. O.C. 584 τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ . . λήσστιν ἴσχεις, 'the time between thou forgettest'), governed by the idea φυλάσσεσθαι contained in φυλακάν, 'to keep guard over her fair lips against the cry.' But φυλακῇ is a very slight alteration, and makes the construction quite easy; and moreover they do not want 'to guard against' (φυλακάν κατασχεῖν) the cry, but 'to check' (κατασχεῖν); so I have taken it, following Blomf. and Eng. 'And with the curb to stifle her sweet lips' cry, fraught with curses to her house.'

l. 237. 'With violence and the muffled might of bonds;' a fine phrase for the gag. Notice ἀναύδω, epithet transferred from the bound victim to the bonds. The line hangs over into the next stanza, just as in 175; but it spoils the passage not to take it with what precedes.

l. 239. κρόκου βαφάς, 'her robe of saffron,' her dyed princess' robe. So Antigone unties 'the saffron splendour of her robe,' στολίδος κροκόεσσαν τρυφάν Eur. Phoen. 1491. Stanley and Schn. understand it of blood!! Observe the unusual hiatus χέουσα . . ἔβαλλε: perhaps the text is wrong.

l. 241. 'Plain as in a picture, fain to speak.' We are often reminded in the Greek tragedians of the works of painting and sculpture which enriched Athens. So in this play, 416, 801, 1329; and Eum. 50 εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας δειπνων φερούσας, Eur. Hec. 564 στέρνα θ' ὥς

ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα, *ib.* 807 ὡς γραφεὺς ἀποσταθεὶς ἰδοῦ με, *Ar. Ran.* 537 γεγραμμένην εἰκόν' ἐστάναι. So *Eur. Hipp.* 1009, *Troad.* 682. About fifty years after this play was acted a celebrated painter at Sikyon, named Timanthes, painted this very scene, and Agamemnon standing by with his face veiled (*Pliny*, 35. 10). In the museum at Naples there is a fresco of this subject, taken from 'the house of the Tragic Poet.'

l. 244. ἀγνῇ (Schütz's obvious correction for the awkward ἀγνά of MSS.) ἀταύρωτος αὐδῇ, 'with virginal voice the spotless maiden.' Paley well suggests that the emphasis of this beautiful phrase is intentional; the banquet songs of later days were sung by very different people from the pure and lovely princess.

l. 245. Read εὐποτμον παιᾶνα with Hartung (*Eng.*, K. and now *Pal.*) for MSS. εὐποτμον αἰῶνα, which will not scan and makes bad sense, 'lovingly graced her loving father's chant of happy fortune, sung at the third libation.' The third libation was poured to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, and then the συμπόσιον or drinking-bout began, the δεῖπνον being ended. With the end of the libations came the παιᾶν, or song. So in *Plato's Symposium* [ἔφη] δειπνήσαντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεόν, which last phrase clearly refers to the paean. See 1386.

l. 247. The sacrifice itself could not be more impressively told than by this terrible hint. 'The rest I saw not neither speak; but Kalchas' word (lit. 'arts') is not unfulfilled.' Others (*Eng.*, *Schn.*) refer τὰ δ' ἐνθεν not to the slaughter, but to *all that is to come of it*. No doubt in 250 the Chorus are thinking of the ill to follow; but that is led up to by the thought 'Kalchas' word is not unfulfilled,' meaning first his advice to slay Iphigeneia, then (suggested by that) his prophecy of the φοβερά μῆνις (154). It is far more poetical and effective to take τὰ δ' ἐνθεν as euphemism for the bloody deed.

ll. 250-254. This passage is well known for its corruptness and difficulty. The true reading is, however, probably preserved in *Fa.*, which reads:—

δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν

ἐπιρρέπει. τὸ μέλλον

ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις, προχαιρέτω.

The others (*M.*, *Fl.*, *G.*) read, ἐπιρρέπει τὸ μέλλον· τὸ δὲ προκλύειν ἐπεὶ, *κ.τ.λ.*, which is impossible to equate with the strophe, and nearly impossible to construe. Goodwin (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.* 1877) has however pointed out the important fact that in *M.* not only τὸ δὲ προκλύειν but also *the colon after μέλλον* is by a later hand; so that the original reading of *M.* (much the oldest) confirms *Fa.* We only require δέ after τὸ μέλλον to make both sense and metre. The meaning will then be: 'To them that suffer, justice brings wisdom. What is to

be, thou canst hear when it has come (κλύουσιν ἐν principal verb, ἐπεὶ γένοιτο optative indefinite, assimilated in mood to κλύουσιν as grammar requires): ere that, have none of it (πρὸ χαίρετω, lit. 'before hand, farewell to it'); 'tis but too early sorrow.' I.e. 'hear it after the event; have nothing to do with it (hearing it) before the time; hearing before the time means lamenting before the time.' So that the subject to ἴσον (ἑστί) is τὸ προ-κλύειν, *exactly what some intelligent reader wrote on the side*, and which has crept into the text. Enger is certainly right in reading πρὸ χαίρετω in two words; the meaning is clearer, and it would be more likely to lead to the gloss which has caused all the difficulty. πρὸ is then adverbial, in the Epic fashion.

l. 254. τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύννοτον αὐταῖς is the reading of M. and Ven. retained by Goodwin, who explains, 'for clear it will come out, in accord with them' (the τέχνη Κάλχαντος). But αὐταῖς is a very weak word, and very far from τέχνη; and the emendation σύννοτον (Wellauer) αὐγαῖς (Herm.), 'clear it will come with the rays of the dawn,' is very near the MSS., and gives a fine sense, and is generally adopted.

l. 255. δ' οὖν, 34.

MSS. give εὐπραξίς, verbal from εὖ πράσσειν: some prefer to write it in two words according to the ordinary rules, but there is doubt whether it will not stand.

τάπιδι τοῦτοις, 'as to what comes after.'

l. 256. 'This one sole defence of the Apian land, bound by close ties.' These words may mean either 'ourselves,' or 'Klytaemnestra,' who just then enters. The former is perhaps the more natural thing to say; but ἀγχιστον and μονόφρουρον look like the latter, and in that case μονόφρουρον, 'sole-guarding,' is (as Schn. remarks) full of irony to the spectators who know of her faithlessness.

Ἀπίας, old name for Peloponnese; it is derived from AP-, Lat. aqu-, 'water,' and means 'the water-girt land.' Cp. Μεσσηνία, 'between the waters.'

[ll. 258-354. SCENE I. *Klytaemnestra now comes out of the central door, and the leader of the Chorus turns to the stage and addresses her.* He asks the news, and is told of the capture of Troy, the tidings have come by beacon, the stages of which are then described; Klyt. imagines the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that it will end well.]

l. 261. 'But whether thou hast heard good news, or naught heard but hast hope of good, that thus thou art busy with sacrifice,' in this sense the εὐαγγέλοιςιν ἐλπίσιν only belongs to the second alternative, to the μὴ πεπυσμένη. Mr. Morshead turns it well, 'Now be it sure and certain news of good, or the fair tidings of a flattering hope, that bids thee spread the light,' etc.

εἴ τι κεδνόν, an old conjecture for MSS. εἶτε κεδνόν, and a necessary alteration.

1. 263. εὐφρων, 'glad,' i.e. 'gladly.' Others take it, 'being well disposed,' a clumsier sentence.

οὐδὲ σιγῶσθαι φθόνος. 'Nor shall I grudge thy silence,' i.e. if thou keep silence.

1. 264. 'With happy tidings—so the proverb runs—may the dawn spring forth from her mother night.' The whole couplet is the παροιμία, with its simple and strong imagery; the use of εὐφρόνη, with the slight play on the double meaning, is of course appropriate to the proverb. The 'good-hearted' night would naturally bring forth a 'dawn of good news.'

1. 271. εὖ φρονούντος is predicative. 'Ay, for thine eyes show forth thy heart as loyal.'

1. 272. This line is best read as two questions, with Pal., Ken. If it is read as one question, the answer is not to the point.

1. 274. εὐπειθῆ, 'persuasive.' (No need to alter to εὐπιθῆ with Blomf., H., etc.)

1. 275. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι, 'I would not accept (i.e. 'believe') the fancy.'

1. 276. 'What? has some wingless rumour puffed thee up?'  
ἀλλ' ἦ, of surprised or excited inquiry usually (Phil. 414; El. 879; Hipp. 932); here the surprise is scornful. 'Art thou so foolish?'  
παίνω, prop. 'to fatten,' one of Aeschylus' bold metaphors.

ἄπτερος φάτις is difficult. The only plausible interpretation (Pal., K.), 'rumour sped by no bird,' i.e. spontaneously arising, is a little far-fetched. Perhaps, in view of the common Homeric ἔπεα πτερόεντα, and the strange phrase, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος Od. 17. 57, which probably means, 'and her word was unwinged,' i.e. unspoken, she did not answer (Faesi), we may construe here, 'an unspoken rumour,' i.e. as K., 'a strange presentiment.'

1. 278. ποίου χρόνου, comprehensive gen., like νυκτός, ὑπάγεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, θέων πεδίοιο, etc., 'within what time?'

καὶ emphasises the verb, '... has the city been sacked?'

1. 279. νῦν, 'but now.' See note on 104.

εὐφρόνης, the case is kept to answer to χρόνου.

1. 280. καὶ τίς, incredulous, just as in English, 'and what messenger could come so quick?' (So, e.g. Soph. O. C. 73, 606, 1173.)

τάχος, adverbial acc., a kind of quasi-cognate or internal acc.

1. 282. 'Beacon sped beacon on with courier-flame.' ἀγγαρος, a Persian word; the system is fully described by Herodotus, 8. 98, in his inimitable style. 'Now no mortal thing arrives quicker than these messengers; such is the system the Persians have invented. A number



of men and horses are posted at intervals, equal to the number of days required for the despatch, each man and horse being a day's journey from the next. These neither snow nor rain, nor heat nor night, stops from accomplishing their appointed stage at full speed. The first gives the despatch to the second, and the second to the third, and so forth. This they call ἀγγραρήϊον.' [The MSS. read ἀγγέλου, but the line is quoted with ἀγγάρου in various old gramm.]

The stations for the beacons are: Ida in the Troad; Mt. Hermaios in Lemnos; Mt. Athos, S. E. promontory of Chalkidike; Mt. Makistos in S. Euboea; Mt. Messapios and Kithairon, in Boeotia; Mt. Aigiplanktos in the Megarid; Mt. Arachnaios in Argolis.

ll. 286-289. This passage is a well-known crux. The words, as they stand, mean: 'And soaring so as to overpass the sea the might of the marching torch all joyfully — the golden gleam like some sun, to the heights of Makistos passing the tidings on;' where the dash (—) stands in the place of πευκή. It is highly probable that πευκή, a gloss upon ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, has ousted the verb from its place; if some word like 'sent' be put into the blank, the sense is complete. Eng. reads πέμπει, which may be right. Kennedy's προῦκειτο will hardly do, it is an unnatural word in spite of its ingenuity. All the MSS. agree in reading σκοπᾶς; the acc. may be right if the lost verb was a transitive verb of motion, 'sent the golden gleam to the heights . . .;' but on the whole, especially considering the position of παραγγείλασα, the dative is more likely.

The alternative is to keep πευκή, read ἰσχύν, and suppose that πρὸς ἡδονήν is a corruption of the verb: either προήνυσεν, Camp. or προσήνυσεν, Elmsl., Hart.

πορευτοῦ, not from πορευτός (which has three terminations), but probably from πορευτής, 'traveller;' agreement, like σωτήρ τύχη, Soph. O. T. 80; Ag. 604. πρὸς ἡδονήν might be taken of the joy in those who saw it; but if so, there would have been a dative of the person. It is quite good of the fire. παραγγέλλω has a special fitness; its proper use is military, 'to pass the word down the line.' So 294, 316.

l. 291. παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος, 'neglected not the herald's part,' the negatives going on from οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ', κ.τ.λ. This is the common way of taking it, and it is quite possible; but I rather incline to prefer Paley's, 'passed on his share of the message.' Not that ἀγγελος means 'message;' it means 'messenger,' and the phrase literally is 'his messenger's share,' quite a possible expression.

l. 292. Euripos, the narrow strait between Euboea and Boeotia.

l. 297. Ἄσωπου, the river of Boeotia, north of Plataeae.

l. 299. 'Awoke a new relay of missive flame.' Ken.

l. 300. οὐκ ἠναίμετο, 'did not disown,' poetic understatement, he means 'welcomed,' 'recognised and attended to.'

1. 301. φρουρά, 'the guard,' who were on the look-out on Kithairon. πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων, 'lighting a fiercer fire than those I have told of,' seems a very flat line, though the MSS. are agreed upon it. But one cannot help being strongly tempted (with D., Schn.) to believe that a half line, found in Hesychius (Alexandrine lexicographer and grammarian, 4th century A.D., who has preserved many scraps of the ancient writers), προσαιθρίζουσα πύμπιμον φλόγα, belongs to this place. The line means, 'raising to the skies the missive flame;' a thoroughly Aeschylean expression, exactly suiting the place, and clearly describing a beacon. The words in the text may then have been a dull gloss on προσαιθρίζουσα; though, as they appear in all the MSS., I have not ventured to make a change.

1. 302. λίμνη Γοργῶπις, a little inlet in the N.E. corner of the Corinthian gulf.

1. 304. μὴ χαρίζεσθαι is the MSS. reading, which makes no sense. Various conjectures have been made, μηχαρίζεσθαι (a word which does not exist), 'to devise,' (?) Well., K. μὴ χρονίζεσθαι, 'not to linger,' Pal., μὴ χατίζεσθαι, 'not to fail,' lit. 'not to be missed,' Heath, H., D., Eng., Schn. The last seems the best. 'Urged on the fiery ordinance not to fail,' a fine phrase; the personification of the two fires being quite in Aeschylus' imaginative style.

1. 305. ἀν-δαίω. Epic syncope of ἀνά, like the Homeric ἀμ φυτά, ἀγκαλέω, ἀγξηραίνω, ἀλλέβαι, etc. So ἐπαντείλασαν 27.

1. 306. 'A mighty beard of fire,' a bold and picturesque image for a blaze streaming in the wind.

καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ, etc. 'Even to overpass the headland that looks down on the Saronic gulf.' κάτοπτον (for the meaningless MSS. κάτοπτρον), adj., the κατά governing gen. The 'headland' is evidently Mount Geraneia.

11. 306-8. Probably corrupt, the MSS. reading in 308 εἶτ' ἐσκηψεν εἶτ' ἀφίκετο, which is certainly wrong; and φλέγουσαν after φλογὸς μέγαν πῶγωνα is at least suspicious. The best way in such a case is to make the least needful alteration, which is done by correcting one or both of the εἶτας: either εἶτα .. ἐστε, (D.); εἶτ' .. εὔτ', (Pal.); or ἐστ' .. εὔτ', (H., Eng., Schn.), which is perhaps on the whole the best, and has been adopted. The sense will then run, 'Then kindling with unstinted might they send a mighty beard of flame, even to surmount the headland overlooking the Saronic bay, blazing onward, till it alighted, when it reached the Arachnaian steep, our city's neighbouring beacon height.' ὑπερβάλλειν will be epexegetic inf. quite natural after πέμπουσι. φλέγουσαν will be κατὰ σύνεσιν (constructed according to sense, not grammar) with φλογὸς πῶγωνα, fem. because the thought is 'bearded flame,' and flame is fem.

1. 311. οὐκ ἀπαιπτον Ἰδαίου πυρός, 'true scion of Idaian fire.' Sw. The gen. is common after these neg. adjectives; it is a gen. of reference,

combined perhaps with the gen. of *emptiness*. So Soph. ἀρόφητος κακυμάτων Aj. 321, ἄσκευον ἀσπίδων El. 36, ἡμερῶν ἀνῆριθμον Tr. 247, etc.; and Ag. 649 ἀμήνιτον θεῶν.

1. 312. τοιοῖδε τοί μοι, 'such I ween;' μοι, Ethical dative. Others divide not so well, τοιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι, 'such means of communication the queen has at her disposal,' says Pal., not very poetically.

The next passage has some difficulties. 'Such the ordinances of our torch-racers one from another by succession accomplished,' i.e. Klyt. compares the series of beacons to the torch-race or λαμπαδηφορία at Athens. What this was is not quite clear, but apparently there was a *number* or *chain* of runners engaged, each of whom carried the torch a certain distance and then handed it on to the next. The torch had to be brought in alight. The competition was probably between rival chains of runners. The only point of resemblance here is the *quick succession* and the *fire*, and it is curious that Herodotus, in the passage quoted above (282) on ἀγγαρος, compares the Persian courier system (which Aesch. likens to the beacons) to this very λαμπαδηφορία, in respect of the succession of carriers. The next line is variously taken:—(1) 'And first and last alike they win the race,' (Eng., Schn., Klaus., etc.), i.e. just as the victory in the torch-race belongs to all the *chain*, so here the triumph is won by first and last alike. The omission of the article (χὼ τελευταῖος) is not surprising in the looser style of Aeschylus; so 324 we have καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων. Perhaps we should rather have expected some word for 'equally,' 'alike.' (2) 'And the first wins, last also in the race' (Peile), i.e. and the victory is with the one who *arrived* first, having been lighted last. The victory, because it brought the news; the resemblance to the torch-race being dropped. (3) 'And he who ran first and last wins,' the same sense as (2) but grammatically different, or (4) 'though he ran last,' Ken. καί for καίπερ. It is impossible to decide confidently; but (1) is rather simpler and better than the others.

1. 317. αὐθις, 'later.'

1. 319. ὥς λέγοις πάλιν, the optative is given by two out of the three MSS. here (Fl., Fa.), and is probably right. It is the *assimilated* optative, not uncommon in the dependent clause where the principal verb is opt.; it is due to the feeling of the principal verb *being continued* on into the dependent. 'I would fain hear at length . . according as thou wouldst tell it again.' So Plat. Men. 92 C πῶς ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου οὐ ἀπειρος εἴης; Soph. O. C. 560 δεινὴν . . ἂν πρᾶξιν τύχοις λέξας ὅποιας ἐξαφισταίμην ἐγώ; Plat. Phaed. 65 ἐκείνος ἂν ποιήσειε . . ὅστις τοι.

ὥς λέγεις, 'as thou dost tell it,' the reading of B., is easy enough, but not quite such good sense. He wants more details, not a repetition of the story as told.

1. 321. *ἄμικτον*, 'discordant,' not blending; as her simile shortly makes clear.

1. 323. *φίλως* (the MSS. reading) is much better than *φίλω*, a common correction. 'Unfriendly sundered wouldst thou call them.'

1. 324. *καί* answers to *τ'* after *ὄξος*. We should say, 'as . . . so . . .'  
*δίχα*, 'apart,' i. e. 'distinct' from each other.

1. 326. *οἱ μὲν*, 'the captives,' largely women, as we see from *ἀνδρῶν*, etc.

1. 327. *φυταλμίων γερόντων*, 'fostering sires.' There is no need to alter this to *φυτάλμοι παίδων γέροντες* with Weil., Eng.; 'the old men' need not have been too old to fight.

1. 330. *ἐκ μάχης*, 'after,' so *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, ἐξ εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν*, etc.

*νυκτίπλαγκτος*, etc., 'night-roaming toil sets them hungry down to such fare as the city has;' the meaning is clear, but the expression is fanciful and picturesque, after his manner.

1. 332. 'According to no token in order due,' a grim kind of irony; the banquet in the sacked town was no well-ordered festival, where each received his *token* and took his appointed seat (*ἐν μέρει*); but just as it chanced (333) he took what he got (331).

1. 333. This line goes better with what precedes, so with Eng., K., I put a stop after it; and read *ἐν δ'* next line, as Eng.

1. 336. MSS. *ὥς δυσδαίμονες*, unconnected and nonsense. *ὥς δ' εὐδαίμονες* (Stanl., Eng., Schn., K.) is the best alteration. 'And like happy men shall sleep all night without watch to keep' (*ὥς δὲ δαίμονες* is too strong a phrase for merely getting a good night's rest).

1. 340. A good example of *certain* emendation: the MSS. read *ἂν γ' ἐλόντες* or *ἀνελόντες*, and *αὖ θάνοιεν* or *ἂν θάνοιεν*.

1. 341. *μὴ ἐμπίπτῃ*. The subjunctive expresses a misgiving, 'only beware lest,' common in Homer: *ὦ μοι ἐγώ, μὴ τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὔτε* Od. 5. 356, also in Attic *μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν* Plat. Gorg. 462 E.

1. 342. This caution 'not to sack holy things' they neglected; cp. 527 *βωμοὶ δ' αἵστοι*, etc.

1. 344. *δίανλος*, 'the double course,' where the runners went round a post and back to the start; a good metaphor for the double voyage.

ll. 345-7. The meaning of these lines is simpler than has been supposed. Taking the MSS. reading *ἀναμπλάκῃτος*, which Goodwin has shown (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 1877) to be read in Fl. as well as the others, we shall construe: 'but if the army returned without such offence to the gods, the woe of the dead might yet wake, if sudden ills did not befall.' The second 'if' is a repetition of the first in other words; the whole drift is, 'let no impious desires assail the army; (that might bring judgment and peril on them, for) they have to return home;

but if they kept free of such offence, (and accordingly) if no such sudden judgment befell, there still might wake the woe of the dead,' which makes good sense, and there is no reason to read *ἐναμπλάκητος*. The last words contain a *double entendre*; to the chorus they mean, 'the army might suffer for *Trojans* slain, if they escaped storm (649) or other judgment;' but the hidden meaning is, '*Agamemnon*, if he escaped shipwreck, might pay the penalty for Iphigeneia,' as he does.

l. 349. τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη. She takes up the refrain of the chorus (121, 139), and seems still more sanguine: for instead of *αἰλινον*, 'the mixed woe and joy,' she wishes 'no doubtful good.' But again there is the grim second meaning, 'let us have complete triumph' over *Agamemnon*.

l. 350. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τήνδ' ὀνησιν εἰλόμην, 'for this have I chosen, as the enjoyment of many blessings,' i. e. counting it as equal to the enjoyment of many other blessings: namely, 'that all should return safe;' or, as she really means, 'that I should have my revenge.' τήνδε is attracted to ὀνησιν as usual. The MSS. read τήν, and Hermann corrected it.

l. 354. 'For joy is wrought not unworthy of our toils' is the best meaning: both χάρις and ἄριστος being used in slightly strained senses; cp. 1443 ἄριμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην, 'they have fared as they deserve.'

[ll. 355-487. STASIMON I.

*Klytaemnestra goes in, and the chorus sing the first stasimon.*

The general sense is:—

'Zeus it is who has cast the inevitable net on Troy; the late but sure vengeance on Paris.' (Introductory anapaests 355-366.)

*Str. α'.* (367-384). 'Tis the stroke of Zeus; the impious deny the interference of the gods, but it has been shown here in punishing the proud and over-wealthy. Moderate wealth is better; riches cannot protect the unjust.

*Ant. α'.* (385-401). 'The wicked man is lured to his ruin by Delusion; and then his true black heart appears; the wicked pursues vanity, like a child a bird; his prayers are vain. Such was Paris.

*Str. β'.* (402-419). 'The Faithless one left her home, leaving War to her kin, bringing Ruin to Troy. The seers sang Woe! Woe! the scorned lord is silent and stricken; in dreams he sees the lost one; his joy is departed.

*Ant. β'.* (420-435). 'Sorrowful visions haunt him, fleeting and mocking; the people are filled with mourning for those who go forth, but naught returns save ashes in the urn.

*Str. γ'.* (436-455). 'War the cruel arbiter sends back from Ilion dust for men; the people praise the dead and curse their rulers; the conquerors hold their graves only.

*Ant. γ'.* (456-474). 'Grievous the wrath of the city; I forbode some

evil. The gods forget not, the unjust are laid low, and none can aid. 'Tis best to be neither cruel conqueror nor wretched captive.

*Epod.* (475-487). 'The beacons glad tidings spread; but who knows whether it is true, or a delusion? Women are too credulous; their joyful news turns out often short-lived joy.']

1. 356. κτεάτειρα (Epic form, fem. of κτε-ατήρ, from κτά-ομαι), 'winner.'

1. 357. ἐπὶ πύργους, Epic use of dat. after verb of motion, cp. βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ for γαίαν (Il. 22. 64), νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα for νῆας Il. 22. 392. See 60.

1. 358. στεγανόν, 'close drawn,' from στέγω, 'to cover,' and is used often of that which *keeps out* (like *hair* which keeps off wet, armour against arrows, shed against rain, etc.) or, as here, *keeps in*.

ὥς for ὥστε. Epic usage common in poets.

1. 359. μήτ' οὖν: οὖν is used in *second* half of alternatives often: εἴτε .. εἴτ' οὖν Soph. Phil. 345, οὔτε .. οὔτ' οὖν O. T. 90, μήτε .. μήτ' οὖν .. ib. 271. ὑπερτελέσαι, 'to overleap,' cp. ὑπερτελής, 286.

1. 360. 'The mighty snare of slavery, destruction sweeping all away,' the capture bringing ruin on all. Eng. supposes μέγα δουλείας a gloss, as it wants a vaguer word to include *death* as well as *slavery*, which ἀτη πανάλωτος does. But the poet is here thinking of the *capture* chiefly, the sack, and the slavery, and the misery.

1. 362. αἰδοῦμαι, 'venerate,' more choice and forcible word for 'pray.'

1. 363. ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, 'against Paris;' for dative compare 357.

1. 364. 'That so neither before the time nor beyond the stars the bolt might vainly fall,' i.e. that the vengeance might duly fall, and at the due time, and with due effect. πρὸ καιροῦ is usually taken 'short of the mark,' which makes a good antithesis with ὑπὲρ ἀστρων; but though καιρός might perhaps be used in this sense (see 786), still the point of the sentence is the long delay of justice, till the *time should be ripe*. Moreover, 'at the proper time and proper place,' is just as good an antithesis as 'neither too short nor too far.' See note on 786.

1. 365. ὑπὲρ ἀστρων (perhaps proverbial expression, as Schn.), an obvious hyperbole for 'too far,' 'shot into the sky.'

Observe ὅπως ἂν with final opt. σκήψειεν, a Homeric usage not allowed in Attic final sentences. Od. 8. 21 ὥς κεν Φαιήκεσσι γένοιτο, 24. 334 ὅφρ' ἂν ἐλοίμην δῶρα. In Attic the ἂν would be dispensed with. That the sentence is final is clear both from the sense and from the μή.

1. 367. Lit. 'they have the blow of Zeus to tell of,' i.e. 'tis the stroke of Zeus, they know it.'

1. 368. πάρεστιν not πάρεσι (Enger); then the line is in metre like 367, and in antistrophe 386 we can read προβούλον, which makes better sense.

1. 369. *ἔπραξαν* (Franz) *ὥς ἔκρανεν* is best reading. 'They suffered as he willed.' The MSS. have the plainly false *ὥς ἔπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν*.

1. 370. *ἀξιούσθαι*, 'deign' (rarely Med., but quite good Greek). *μέλειν*, personal and active, 'to care for' = *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*. This is rare, but is found: *μέλειν ἡμῶν* Soph. Aj. 689, *τῆς τικτούσης μέλειν* El. 342, *τῶν ἀδίκων μέλουσι* Eur. H. F. 773.

1. 371. *δοῖσι*, dat. agent, not uncommon after perf. and aor. passive, rarer with pres., 'by whomsoever the glory of their holy things was trampled down.'

1. 372. *πατοῖθ'*, opt. indef. It is past, because of *ἔφα*.

ll. 374-376. The MSS. give *πέφανται δ' ἐγγόνους ἀτολμήτων Ἀρη πνεόντων μείζον' ἢ δικαίως*, which is not a sentence at all, and has no construction. We can see that the poet said, 'it has been shown,' and then something about 'too proud warriors,' from which the drift can be inferred 'that the proud at last fall.' The ordinary correction *ἐκγόνοις ἀτολμήτως*, 'it has been shown (that gods do care) to the offspring of those who breathe out war insufferably' is very unlikely; the subject of *πέφανται* is wanting, and *ἀτολμήτως* does not really mean 'insufferably,' but 'in a manner not be ventured.' On the whole I much prefer Hartung's *ἐκτίνοῦσα τόλμᾳ τῶν Ἀρη*, etc., quite as near the MSS., and much better sense; also the article *τῶν* is happy. 'We have seen it paying penalty, the wickedness (*τόλμα*, 'criminal daring') of those who breathed out war more fiercely (*μείζον*) than was just,' i.e. Paris and the Trojans have suffered vengeance. Observe *τόλμα* with a long; this is the Doric quantity, and is common in Pindar.

1. 377. *φλεόντων*, 'overflows,' with riches.

1. 378. *ἔστω*, 'let there be what brings no woe, yet suffices for him whose heart is wise' (lit. 'so that he who is well gifted in respect of mind should be content'). The meaning is, 'a humble competence, sufficient, but not entailing trouble, is best.' This is the best sense that can be got out of a difficult and rather doubtful passage.

1. 379. *ἀπαρκεῖν* is used personally, 'I am content,' instead of the ordinary impersonal *ἀρκεῖ*, 'it suffices;' just as *δίκαιός εἰμι*, *ἄξιός εἰμι*, etc. (*τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι* Prom. 621 is something like it). Schütz's conj. *λαχόντι* would make an easier constr., but is not necessary.

1. 380. *πραπίδων*, gen. of reference after *εὔ*; cf. *ὥς εἶχε ποδῶν*, etc.

1. 381. 'For there is no defence in wealth to a man who insolently spurns the great altar of Justice out of sight.' *πρὸς κόρον*, like *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, etc., adverbially. (Others, as Eng., Schn., H., take *εἰς ἀφάνειαν* with *ἐπαλξίς*, 'protection against destruction;' but it is too far off; and *ἀφάνεια* is not a good word; and *εἰς* is the wrong preposition. Pal. formerly so took it, but now takes it as above.)

1. 385. *βιάται*, 'forces him on.' The sense is, 'the wicked man is

led on by Temptation (πειθῶ), which is sent him by the Ruin or Curse he has roused, which plots his destruction.' K.'s suggestion, πρόβουλος, παῖς . . , is ingenious and simple, but the line is less effective.

1. 386. Read with Hartung προβούλου παῖς ἄφ. ἄτ., 'the fatal child of scheming Ruin,' instead of the MSS. προβουλόπαις, a very unlikely compound in that sense; it would mean 'with scheming children,' and would in any case be adj. D. quotes αἰνοπάτηρ Cho. 315; but that *is* adj., and so is no parallel.

1. 387. 'The evil is not hidden; but shines, a baleful glare.' The evil being his wickedness. The sentence is a little harsh, and perhaps there is some corruption.

1. 391. 'By rubbing and by blows' of the touchstone to try the metal; he is found 'black smutched' like bad copper (instead of being bright like gold) when tested, δικαιωθείς, a bold use of the word.

1. 394. I. e. 'he is as a boy chasing a winged bird.' Paris, in his vain expectation of success in his crime, is like a boy chasing a bird, a proverb for vanity. The omission of 'as' is both Lat. and Greek usage in comparisons.

1. 395. προστρίμμα, not 'brand' (L.S.), but 'an infliction,' 'a woe;' we have προστρίβειν used with ζημία Prom. 329, πληγὰς Ar. Eq. 5, συμφορὰν Dem. 786. 6.

1. 397. τῶν, demonstrative, 'in these things;' an Epic usage. This correction of MSS. τῶνδε is Klausen's, to suit ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν in 379, which is better rhythm.

ἐπίστροφον, 'conversant with,' a Homeric word: ἐπίστροφος ἦν ἀνθρώπων Od. 1. 177.

1. 398. καθαίρει, sc. ὁ θεός, easily understood from οὔτις θεῶν. Cf. the well-known passage in Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 1, 'Qui fit Maecenas ut nemo . . contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?' i. e. omnes laudent.

1. 405. 'The din of shield and spear and naval armaments.' MSS. read κλόνους λογχίμους τε καί, etc.; bad position of τε, and not suitable to πάρεσι δόξαι of antistr. 421. Read with H. τε καί κλόνους . . ναυβάτας θ'.

1. 406. ἀντίφερνον, 'in place of dowry;' Aesch. is fond of these strange compounds, where the ἀντί governs (so to speak) the subst. with which it is compounded, ἀντήνωρ 443, ἀντίπαις Eum. 38, ἀντίδουλος Cho. 135, ἀντίκεντρον Eum. 131.

1. 409. 'The seers of the house,' taken by some of Greek seers warning, by others of the Trojan seers warning. It reads more like the former; but perhaps refers to a story in the Κύπρια of the prophecies of Helenos and Cassandra about Paris' marriage.

1. 411. στίβοι φιλόνορες, lit. 'husband-loving tracks,' i. e. 'print of her loving form,' 'loving' as she was once; φιλόνωρ so used 856.



l. 412. The MSS. reading is hopeless. I have taken Hermann's, who is followed by Eng., Schn., and is the least violent; it also leaves the metre its cretic character; *ἰδεῖν πάρεστι* then go together. 'Behold the silence, scorned yet unrebuking, of those so shamefully deserted;' a very fine picture of Menelaos' misery. The plural *σιγάς* of an abstract word is unusual, but may be supported by *ἀχηνίας* 419, *μανίας* 1575.

l. 416. 'And the loveliness of fair-limbed statues becomes to him a loathing; he has lost the light of her eyes and all love is departed.' Besides the astonishing beauty of the mere words, there is almost a modern depth and tenderness in the thought. Some have strangely referred *ὀμμάτων ἀχηνίας* to the 'blank eyes' of the statues; others take it 'in the loss of his eyes,' i. e. loss sustained by his eyes (subject. gen.); but this does not seem so good.

l. 422. *ὄρα* (Eng., K.) is probably right; it might easily have got corrupted after *δοκῶν* into *inf.*, especially as the sense is, 'for vainly, when one sees in fancy delights, the vision is gone,' etc. Literally, 'when a man sees fancying he sees delights,' *ὄραν* being easily supplied in thought from *ὄρα*.

l. 426. 'On wings that follow the ways of sleep.' Another wonderful line. Perhaps *ὀπαδοῦς* is right: an easier construction.

l. 428. There is no need for Hermann's *τὰ δ' ἐστὶ*, which would rather require *τὰ πᾶν γάρ* in the next line. 'The woes in the house, in the hearth, are these, and yet more bitter than these; but for all who sailed,' etc. (Lit. 'on the whole, for those who sailed,') *Ἑλλανος*, as adj. with a fem. word, occurs again 1254.

l. 430. *τλησικάρδιος*, 'suffering,' by a bold transference applied, not to the afflicted man, but to the affliction.

l. 435. Notice the beautiful effect in this pathetic line of the implied antithesis to *οἶδεν*; instead of the familiar and loved face comes back the *unknown* urn and ashes.

l. 436. The 'dust in the urn' suggests a bold figure to the poet. 'War is a gold-merchant dealing in bodies; he has his balance (holding the scales of fight, a Homeric idea from Il. 8. 69, where Zeus weighs fates); he sends back *ψῆγμα*, 'dust,' *πυρωθέν* and *βαρύ*, *burnt* and *heavy*, like gold-dust, but in another sense; he fills the jar with ashes in place of men.'

l. 441. *βαρύ*, 'grievous,' a pathetic *double entendre*.

l. 444. *εὐθέτου*, for MSS. *εὐθέτου*; it is a more natural phrase, and better applied to *λέβης*. It means 'well-ordered,' and is used by Aesch. of *σάκος*, and *ἀρβύλαι* elsewhere. If we keep *εὐθέτου*, it must mean 'easily stored,' and there is no trace of such a usage. Moreover, the order of the words favours the change.

l. 449. *διαί*, Epic form, restored by Herm. for sake of metre.

βαῖζει, properly, 'barks;' so, 'mutters,' 'grumbles.'

l. 450. ἵπ'.. ἔρπει (Epic tmesis for ἰφέρνηι), 'steals over' the citizens. Ἀτρείδαις is dat. after φθονερόν.

πρόδικος seems to mean properly an 'advocate;' 'champion' will do here.

l. 455. There is a pathetic irony in κατέχουσι, .. ἔχοντας, words naturally used of conquerors who occupy land. 'Many stalwart heroes possess graves of Trojan earth; the earth of their foes has covered the possessor.' The Greek custom seems to have allowed burial as well as cremation. Socrates speaks of his body ἡ καίμενον ἡ κατορυπτόμενον (Plat. Phaed. 115 E.).

l. 457. 'Of a public curse it pays the debt,' i.e. 'does the part.' (Eng. translates, 'he pays the debt,' i.e. the hated ruler; good sense, but such a change of subject is scarcely possible.)

l. 460. 'My boding thought awaits tidings from the dark:' imaginative way of saying, 'I anxiously forebode some hidden mischief, soon to be revealed.'

l. 464. παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶ βίου, 'with sad reversal of life's lot.'

l. 465. ἐν δ' αἰστοῖς .. ἀλκά, 'he lies among the unseen, with none to aid;' αἰστοῖς may include any kind of destruction, even death, cp. Αἶδης.

l. 466. ὑπερκόπως, 'overmuch,' necessary correction for MSS. ὑπερκότως, 'wrathfully.'

l. 470. ὀσσοῖς, 'upon his eyes.' Pal., K. say, 'by the eyes of Zeus;' surely that would be *from* the eyes, δι' ὀσσῶν. Possibly it is corrupt.

l. 471. κρίνω, 'I judge best,' used somewhat as δοκεῖ is. ἀφθονον, 'unenvied,' not its usual sense, which is 'plentiful.'

l. 474. βίον, 'the life,' i.e. of a captive, readily understood from δλοῦς; the phrase is varied from its natural form.

Notice the gradual way in which the chorus hint forebodings of ill against Agamemnon. The triumphant opening leads them to speak of Paris' sin and punishment; then the sorrow and loss of Menelaos; that leads to the suffering and slaughter of the Greeks who fought for the Atreidae; then the murmurings, caused by that, against the kings; the danger of too great success, especially if wrought by much bloodshed. 'The conqueror's lot is not one to be wished any more than that of the conquered.'

l. 478. MSS. ἡ τοι θεῶν ἐστι μὴ ψύθος, a possible but very strange position of μὴ. There are various emendations, of which I have given Ahrens' as the simplest and best.

l. 479. φρενῶν κεκομμένος, 'stricken in mind,' gen. of ref.

l. 481. πυρωθέντα, 'fired.' The construction is acc. and inf. consecutive, with the usual ὥστε wanting.

l. 483. 'Tis like a woman's temper to welcome joy before the truth be known.' αἰχμᾶ, an obscure word, taken by most edd. (H., Schn., Eng., Well., etc.) to mean 'rule' here and Cho. 630. But there seems reason for believing, with Blomf. and Pal., that the word means 'spirit,' 'temper.' 592 confirms this view. [Hart. suggests ἀνχᾶ.]

l. 485. Again an obscure passage, the clue to which lies (as Pal. shows) in the proper meaning of ἐπινέμω, 'to graze flocks over the border.' 'Too credulous, the bounds of her belief suffer a swift encroachment; but by swift fate perishes the rumour spread by her tongue,' i.e. she believes too readily, and her false reports are soon exposed. The assonance of ταχύπορος, ταχύμορος, is of course intentional, to point the rebuke.

l. 488. These lines are given to Klytaemnestra in MSS. They clearly belong to the chorus and are always printed so now.

[ll. 488-680. SCENE II.

*The herald is now seen coming on the left side of the stage, crowned with olive. The leader of the chorus speaks from the Thymele. 'Now we shall know all.' The herald prays to all the gods; then describes the sufferings before Troy. Klytaemnestra comes forward, and sends a welcome to her coming lord. The chorus ask news of Menelaos: the herald tells the story of the storm which scattered the fleet. Still Menelaos may come.]*

l. 490. παραλλαγῆς, 'changes,' i.e. 'successions.'

l. 494. κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος. Observe the quaint and almost grotesque expression 'thirsty dust, neighbour brother of the clay.' Schn. sees in this speech a parody of Klytaemnestra's picturesque style; but there is no need to invent such refinements. Aeschylus' style, when applied to homely things, is liable to border on the grotesque.

ll. 496-7. Means simply that the tidings will be conveyed by voice, no longer by fire. σοι is rather a strange Ethic dative, as the chorus are not exactly addressing anyone, 'lighting thee the flame of wood;' Herm. suspects it.

l. 498. 'Either he will utter joy,'—or the reverse, he means; but stops short (aposiopesis) to avoid ill omen.

l. 500. 'To good already come may good be added' (lit. 'may addition be well').

l. 501. The want of a connection is so strange that several editors suggest τὰδ' ὅστις. Those who give 488 to Klyt. give this to chorus.

l. 504. φέγγει ἔτους, merely picturesque-poetic for ἔτει, 'tenth-year's light.' Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the landing of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the licence of dramatic poetry.

l. 507. *μέρος* is usually omitted after *μετέχω*, the verb itself (with the partitive gen.) giving the idea sufficiently.

l. 509. The statues of these gods stood probably on the stage, according to the custom, in front of the palace.

l. 510. For Apollo was also the god of Pestilence and had shot his shafts at the Greeks 'for nine days long; and the pyres of the dead burnt thick.' Il. i. 52-3. (*μηκέτι* of course after imperative *χαίρε*.)

l. 511. *ἦσθ'* (Askew, K., D., Eng.) is the simplest and best reading. *ΗΞΘ* became *ΗΛΘ* by an easy corruption, which was then altered to *ἦλθες* by somebody who knew that it ought to be 2nd pers. but did not know the metre. (H.'s *ἦσθ'* for *ἦεισθα* is ingenious but unlikely, the phrase is so harsh.)

l. 513. *ἀγώνιος*, the best sense to give to this disputed word is derived from the old Homeric meaning of *ἀγών*, 'gathering' (like *ἀγορά*). Iliad 15. 428, 16. 500 *νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι*, 24. 1 *λῦτο δ' ἀγών*; cp. *ἀγῶνας θέντες* 835. So *ἀγώνιοι* will be the same as *ἀγοραῖοι*, 'gods of the gathering,' i.e. of the city life, see note on 88. (The Schol. on Hom. 24. 1 expressly says that Aeschylus calls *ἀγοραῖοι ἀγώνιοι*.)

l. 514. *τιμῶρος* [*τιμα-* *For-*, cp. *πυλῶρος*, *οἰκοῦρος*, *φροῦρος*, etc.], lit. 'honour-guarder,' so 'champion,' 'protector.' The meaning 'avenger' was secondary, though naturally following from the primary one.

l. 517. *δορός*, gen. of separation, as after words of 'freeing,' 'emptying,' etc.; 'those whom the spear hath spared.'

l. 519. 'Royal seats,' the marble throne of the king at the door of the palace, where he sat to do justice, or on any state occasion.

*ἀντήλιοι* (Ionic form for *ἀνθ*.), 'sunward-facing,' the statues being placed to look east.

l. 521. *κόσμη*, 'duly.' Observe three datives of instr., manner, and time.

l. 524. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*, 'for indeed it is fitting;' the *οὖν* adds earnestness or emphasis. So *καὶ γὰρ οὖν κείνην ἴσον ἐπαιτιῶμαι* Soph. Ant. 489, *εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις ἰδ*: 771, *οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι* O. C. 980.

l. 526. *τῇ κατεύργασται πέδον*, 'wherewith the soil has been ploughed up,' a kind of grim irony; 'the mattock of avenging Zeus' having in a terrible sense 'ploughed up' the soil of Troy. (*τῇ*, Epic rel. for *ῇ*, tolerably common in Aesch.)

l. 532. 'For neither Paris nor the city, sharer of his ruin, can boast that their deeds surpassed their sufferings.' One *οὔτε* is omitted. So Soph. Phil. 771 *ἐκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα*: and Shakespeare has it, 'but my five-wits *nor* my five senses can dissuade one foolish heart from seeing thee' Sonn. 141.

*συντελής* means, 'one who pays taxes with,' 'is rated with;' hence many take it to mean simply 'city connected with Paris:' but the idea of 'payment' must have been present to the poet in choosing the word; so the version given above is better.

l. 534. Paris is compared to a man convicted of 'theft and plunder.' If one so convicted refused to pay, the claimant seized property of his in pledge for his claim; and the thing seized was *ρύσιον*. Helen is here the *ρύσιον*, which does not therefore mean 'spoil,' as L. S., Pal., though it might be so construed in default of a word to express the associations of *ρύσιον* more precisely.

l. 536. *αὐτόχθονον*, 'land and all,' 137; but the reading is suspect.

l. 537. *θάμάρτια, τὰ ἀμάρτια*, 'the penalty for sins,' they have paid twice over. The word is formed like *εὐαγγέλια*, 'reward for good tidings.' (Schol. so takes it.)

l. 538. *τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ*, the common pregnant construction.

l. 539. Enger's emendation for *χαίρων τεθνάναι* is good; there is no such word as *τεθνάναι*; and the syllable which has fallen out is so like the next one: ΓΕΤΕΘΝ. [Karsten's *τὸ τεθνάναι* is also good.]

l. 542. *τερπνῆς*, pred., 'a sweet disease this that ye were affected with.'

l. 543. I.e. 'Tell me, and I shall understand.'

l. 546. *ὥς* for *ὥστε*, as often. See 358.

l. 547. *στρατῶ*, the MSS. reading, is plainly vicious, having come from 545. Hermann's *φρενῶν* is as good as any conjecture, the phrase occurring Ag. 1307, Cho. 80. 'Whence came this bitter gloom of heart upon thee?' [Or take *φράσον* with Weil: very simple.]

l. 550. *νῦν*, 'just now,' as we say.

*τὸ σὸν*, 'thy words,' referring to 539. 'As thou saidst but now, 'twere joy to die.'

l. 552. MSS. read *εὖ λέξαιεν*, which Paley retains. But not merely is *ἂν* required (Paley's instances being all either corrupt or not conditional, see below, 620); *εὖ* is plainly bad with *εὐπετῶς*, from which indeed it has arisen.

ll. 555-7. 'For were I to tell of our troubles and ill lodgment, scant deckways, and hard bivouacs—what hour of the day did we not groan, and [suffer]?' There is no apodosis to *εἰ λέγομι*—the break in the construction is more effective. *παρήξεις* is doubtful. It is commonly taken 'landings,' but *παρήκω* means 'to pass along,' and *παρήξεις* should mean 'passages,' probably (as Pal., Br.) on board ship, because it is opposed to *τὰ χέρσῳ*. The Schol. takes it so. In the last line *λαχόντες* is plainly corrupt. Pal. says, 'what did we not receive as our daily portion?' but *ἡματος μέρος* cannot surely mean this. We want some word like *πάσχοντες* or *κλαίοντες*.

l. 558. 'And again on land we had still worse to bear.' *τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ*, lit., 'and again as to the things on land.' *χέρσῳ*, dat. local.; it is prop. adj., 'dry,' but in Hom. is always used as subst. without art. *ἐπὶ χέρσῳ*, *πρὸς χέρσῳ*, *ἐν χέρσῳ*.

l. 562. *τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα*, 'matting our locks like beasts.' The

masc. *τιθέντες* is strange; Schn. suggests he had *δμβροι* in his head; he must have meant to include rain, which would be far worse than mere dew. [Perhaps there is some corruption.]

1. 566. Notice this beautiful line: the poetic feeling for beauty of nature is so rare among the Greeks. 'When on his midday couch windless and waveless ocean sank to sleep,' as Conington finely turns it.

1. 567. Again the construction is effectively broken; *εἰ λέγοι* has no apodosis.

1. 568. *τοῖσι μὲν*. The natural antithesis, 'the living,' is practically given 571.

1. 569. Consecutive constr. again, just as in 15.

1. 570. *ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν*, lit. 'reckon by the pebble;' i.e. 'count up accurately.'

1. 571. *τύχης*, gen. of reference, common after emotion verbs, *μηνίσας φόνου, οὗ χολωθείς, δέισας φίλου, θανμάζω τινός*, etc.

1. 572. 'Nay, I bid a long farewell to our sufferings.' *καταξιώ* is used in a strange sense, *εἰπεῖν* or *λέγειν* being the common word; but this must be the meaning; *πολλὰ χαίρειν* is always so used. Somewhat similar is *ἀξιώ*, 'I hail,' 903.

1. 575. 'So that it is fit we (the survivors) should make boast before this beam of the sun.' *ὥς* for *ὥστε*.

1. 578. 'To the gods of Greece these spoils have nailed up in their shrines a glory for all time.' Notice the double dative, *θεοῖς* recipient, *δόμοις* probably local. *ἀρχαῖον*, unusually but effectively used for 'to be ancient' (proleptic), 'lasting'; no need for Porson's conjecture *ἀρχαίσις*.

1. 580. *κλύοντας*, 'anyone' hearing such things; yourselves and future generations.

1. 581. Observe *passive* future *τιμήσεται* of the older form; in the *pure* verbs this form is common, as *ἀγορεύσομαι, ἀδικήσομαι, ἀνιάσομαι, ἀξιώσομαι, ἀπατήσομαι*, etc. See Veitch, *Greek Irregular Verbs*.

1. 584. Lit. 'learning well is ever young for the old;' i.e. 'the old are ever young enough to learn.' *εὖ μαθεῖν* is really the subj. of *ἡβᾶ*. There is therefore no need for Enger's ingenious *νοῦς γέρονσιν*, which indeed makes the expression duller.

[At this point *Klytaemnestra* advances from the palace by the middle door; the chorus-leader continues with a look towards her].

1. 586. *σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ*, 'but should gladden me likewise;' the subject of *πλουτίζειν* being surely *ταῦτα*, 'the tidings;' not *Klytaemnestra*, as H., nor *σέ*, as Pal.

1. 590. *καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων* clearly refers to the incredulity of the chorus, 483. How would K. know of this, it is asked, as she was not there? The answer is that the chorus only express the general feeling of the citizens which she can naturally be supposed to learn.

l. 593. Observe the imperfect ἐφαινόμην. 'They strove to show me deluded.'

l. 594. γυναικεῖω νόμφ, 'with womanly strain.' This may mean only that the women began, but the men (ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν) joined in; but perhaps she is still keeping up her satire against the chorus: 'like women (as you would say) the whole city joined in the cry.'

l. 597. κοιμῶντες, 'lulling to rest,' causing it to burn low and die out.

l. 598. τὰ μάσσω, 'the further tale.'

l. 599. These lines are full of tragic irony to the audience who know her plot.

l. 600. It is best to take ὅπως final. 'In order that I may best welcome—(then the parenthesis)—take this message,' etc. If we construe ὅπως ἀριστα together, 'as well as I may,' and put a stop at δέξασθαι (as H., D., Eng., Schn., etc.), ταῦτ' ἀπάγγελον is very abrupt.

l. 606. εὖροι. Observe the terrible irony of this wish, sent as a loving message to Agamemnon.

l. 607. οἷανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, 'ay, even as he left her.' οὖν is used something like English 'in short;' the second phrase being substituted for πιστήν, as more expressive. Cp. Plat. Prot. ad init. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἶπε, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι, 'he said many kind things for me, and *in short*, I have only just left him.'

l. 612. χαλκοῦ βαφάς. Perhaps the best way of taking this difficult expression is to suppose a *double entendre*. 'I know no more of dalliance or rumour of shame from other man than—how to dip the brass,' i.e. than I do of the manufacture of tempered swords, clearly not a woman's province. But in her heart she knows well 'how to dip the brass' in Agamemnon's blood, and means to do it.

l. 613. τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων is effective, considering the cynical falseness of Klytaemnestra's speech.

ll. 615, 16. A difficult couplet. τοροῖσιν ἑρμηνεύσιν can be taken (dat. inst.) with μανθάνοντι or with εὐπρεπῶς. The latter is perhaps most likely, as ἑρμηνεύς is naturally a person, and the instrumental use unlikely. 'Thus hath she spoken to thy listening ears her word—to clear interpreters fair seeming;' a very delicate way of hinting that she has said rather too much of her own virtues.

l. 617. πεύθομαι, other form of πυνθάνομαι. Similar pairs are λείπω λιμπάνω, φεύγω φυγγάνω.

l. 620. 'I could not tell false tidings to seem fair,' καλὰ being predicative. ὅπως λέξαιμι is the remote deliberative optative; see Appendix I.

l. 621. 'For friends to reap delight therefrom for long;' i.e. the pleasure of good news if false is shortlived. καρποῦσθαι, epexegetic inf.

1. 622. The chorus reply, imitating the form of the herald's sentence: 'Would that then thou couldst speak truth to seem good;' *κεδνά* being predicative, like *καλά*. So Klaus., Ken. [It is usually taken (e.g. Herm., Eng., Schn., etc.), 'How then couldst thou, speaking good news, chance to speak truth?' understanding *εἰπών* again. This is possible, but not so neat as the other.]

1. 626. 'Setting sail in sight of all' (did he perish?); i.e. was he parted from you by his own act or by a storm?

1. 630. The important words are *ζώντος ἢ τεθνηκότος*, which are predicative. 'Did rumour speak of him as alive or dead?' is the sense. *αὐτοῦ*, obj. gen. after *φάτις*; see 1367.

1. 635. 'How rose, how sank the storm?' *Mors.*

1. 637. *χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν*, 'the honours of the gods are apart (from evil tidings);' i.e. 'it beseems not the service of the gods.' He goes on to explain that if news of disaster were brought, instead of triumph, then a paean to the Erinyes (as opp. to *θεοί*) would be the right thing; as the news is good, and there is thanksgiving, it must not be spoiled.

1. 640. *τυχεῖν* is perhaps best taken as expegetic inf.; and then *ἔλκος* and *πολλούς* are both accusatives in apposition to *πήματα* 638. Otherwise *ἔλκος τυχεῖν* is acc. inf., and then we have the awkwardness of the construction being changed to participle in 641. The sense is, 'to the city one woe, the public loss, to suffer, and many *men*,' etc.; i.e. the public loss and the private sufferings. [*τυχόν*, H.: neat but needless.]

1. 641. *ἐξαγισθέντας*, an expressive word; 'victims cast out,' 'cast out and consecrate to death.' *Mors.*

11. 642, 3. 'With the two-thonged scourge, that Ares loves, a double-pointed curse, a bloody pair;' imaginative and high sounding phrases for the twofold suffering to state and individual already given 640.

Notice *τήν*, Epic relative. The accusatives in 643 are best taken as in agreement (by a kind of natural attraction or loose apposition) with the relative *τήν*.

1. 644. *μέντοι*, 'indeed,' 'tis true;' 'with such woes indeed laden one should sing this paean of the Furies.' *μέντοι* concessive, as often.

1. 645. *τόνδε*, i. e. such a one as suits these woes.

1. 648. Again the construction broken; he springs from the general statement (which expects *πῶς πρέπει τοῦτον συμμίξαι*; or something of the kind) to the first person.

1. 649. Taking the corrected reading *Ἀχαιοῖς . . θεῶν*. Construe: 'storm sent by wrathful gods upon the Achaei.' For *ἀμήνιτον θεῶν* see 311.

1. 650. Paley aptly quotes Milton, Par. Reg. 4. 412 'Water with fire in ruin reconciled;' and Schn. no less aptly Shakesp. Troilus and Cressida, 2. 2 'The winds and waves, old wranglers, took a truce.'



1. 651. τὰ πίστ' ἐδείξάτην, 'proved their bond.'

1. 653. Some put the stop at νυκτί; but it is better as it is.

1. 654. Θρηῖκαι, 'north winds;' cp. 192.

1. 656. 'With violent storm and splash of beating rain.' Only in Epic style he couples the dat. of circumstances (χειμῶνι) to the dat. after σύν. The cases really describe the same relation, the preposition only making it more precise. Some propose to take τυφῶ as gen. after ζάλῃ; but it is better and simpler to take it, as above, with χειμῶνι.

1. 657. 'With the whirling gust of the evil shepherd;' a sudden bold metaphor flashing out in Aeschylus' style. The hurricane is 'an evil shepherd;' the fleet are his sheep which he drives hither and thither to their ruin.

1. 659. ἀνθοῦν νεκροῖς, 'flowering with dead,' another audacious metaphor; though ἀνθέω is more familiarly used in Greek metaphorically than 'flower' with us.

1. 661. γε μὲν δῆ, 'however;' γε μὴν, γε μέντοι, γε μὲν δῆ, all used in this corrective or qualifying sense. Soph. Tr. 484 ἐπεὶ γε μὲν δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστασαι. ἀκήρατον σκάφος, best taken as apposition; not as Pal., 'unharmful in hull.'

1. 662. 'Stole us away or begged us off' from destruction; a bold but quite characteristic phrase, requiring no emendation.

1. 664. Paley prosaically thinks that this splendidly imaginative line describes an electric phenomenon! 'And on the bark sat Fortune the saviour, a willing passenger.'

1. 665. ὥς for ὥστε.

κύματος ζάλῃν ἔχειν, 'wave-tossed;' the subject is ἡμᾶς, or 'the ship,' readily understood from 661.

1. 666. ἐξοκεῖλαι, intr. 'run aground.'

1. 669. ἐβουκολοῦμεν, a metaphor quite different from, but as strange and picturesque as, the English 'brooded over.' So βουκολούμενος πόνον, Eumen. 78.

1. 670. σποδουμένου, lit. 'dusted;' i.e. 'beaten,' 'buffeted.'

1. 672. τί μῆ, 'why should they not?' the verb understood being the deliberative subjunctive, as μῆ shows. This is possible, though the phrase is unusual [it occurs Soph. Aj. 668], but perhaps τί μῆν is right.

1. 674. γὰρ οὖν, justifying his good wish: 'May it turn out well; [and I mean it], for indeed Menelaos you may expect, first and most of all.'

1. 676. δ' οὖν, 'anyhow;' hastening to practical conclusion. ἱστορεῖ, 'finds.' The word is from *Fiδ-*, and properly means, 'to get knowledge,' hence is used (like *πυνθάνομαι*) to mean both *inquire* and *learn*.

[After 680 the Herald goes off, and the Second Scene ends.

The Chorus then sing the Second Stasimon, as follows:—

*Str. α'.* (681-698). 'Who was it so fitly named Helena, the ἑλε-ναῖς? forth she sailed, with the 'armed huntsmen after her, to Simois' shores.

*Ant. α'.* (699-716). The marriage-κῆδος (bond) proved indeed a κῆδος (care); Zeus exacted after-vengeance from those who triumphantly sang the marriage song, changing the note to bitter wailing.

*Str. β'.* (717-725). 'As a man rears a lion's whelp, gentle and a plaything at first; *Ant. β'.* (726-735) but soon its savage temper shows, and it ravages the flocks, filling the house with blood; so (*Str. γ'.* 737) Helena came, fair and lovely, to Troy; but she proved a curse.

*Ant. γ'.* (750-762). 'The old saying makes sorrow born of prosperity; this I do not hold with; it is impiety, not wealth, that begets evil offspring.

*Str. δ'.* *Ant. δ'.* (736-781). 'The old wickedness brings forth new wickedness when the appointed day comes, and fatal daring. But justice burns brightly in the cottage, flying from the guilty palace; she guides all to the goal.'

For the bearing of the Chorus on the drama, see Introduction, p. xviii.]

1. 684. μή τις. 'Was it some one?' μή, interrogative; originally, no doubt, *banishing the thought* (μή not οὐ). 'Surely not one who...!')

1. 685. ἐν τύχῃ, 'by good hap,' it was a chance name, yet guided by secret foresight (πρόνοια) of what was to follow.

1. 686. δορυγαμβρον ἀμφιναικῇ θ', 'the sword-won bride, the source of strife.'

1. 687. The MSS. both give ἑλένας, which form points the word-play much better than ἑλένας the ordinary reading, if it is a possible form. It may be a Doric form from ἑλε-ναf-s, as Μενέλας is from Μene-λαf-s (Salmasius, Eng.) 'Ship's hell, Man's hell, City's hell,' says Browning, though the English is stronger than the Greek. To the Greek mind there was something mysterious about the suitability of names to fates of men; it had a deep significance, and was not trivial or accidental. Compare Soph. Aj. 730; Theb. 658.

1. 690. ἀβροτίμων, 'delicate-costly,' a bold but not unlikely compound. [No need to accept Salmasius's ingenious emendation ἀβροπήνων, 'delicate-woven:' though Aesch. may have written it.]

1. 692. γίγαντος, 'mighty'; γίγας is redupl. from γα-, 'grow,' and means, 'the big-grown one,' 'the monster.'

1. 695. 'The host of shielded huntsmen' are of course the Greek pursuers.

MSS. κατ' ἵχνος πλάταν ἀφαντον κελσάντων, which will construe, 'on the track of those who drove ashore on Simois' leafy coast the vanishing oar,' but the emendation πλατᾶν makes the sense so vastly richer and better, '... huntsmen on the oarblades' unseen track [not a visible trail like other hunters] of those who,' etc.; a splendid phrase.

l. 699. 'Wrath, its end accomplishing, sped to Ilion this marriage-bond, a trouble indeed,' a play on the two meanings of κῆδος.

l. 700. ἀτίμωςιν πρᾶσσομένα, 'exacting requital for the wrong:' τίοντας, 'from those who honoured,' the regular construction of πρᾶσσεσθαι in this sense. Cf. Εὐρυμέδοντα χρήματα ἐπράξαντο Thuc. 4. 65.

l. 705. 'Those who honoured over-much the bridal strain' were the γαμβροί, or 'marriage kin' of Helena, i. e. the children of Priam, who sang triumphantly the marriage song, glorying in Paris' deed. ἐκφάτως is a doubtful word, either 'unspeakably,' or better perhaps 'loudly' (lit. 'outspokenly.') τίοντας, they *honoured* the violent deed; they *dishonoured* hospitality and Zeus protector of friendship. The article is omitted with the participle, as 59.

l. 706. τέτ', 'at the time,' significantly; afterwards they 'sang another tune,' 709.

l. 707. ὑμέναιον is in apposition to μέλος.

l. 709. 'The note is changed, the city wails with bitter lament.' Literally, 'learning a new song of bitter lament (πολύθρηνον, predicative) the city groans.'

l. 711. Mr. Verrall, in the Journal of Philology, 9. 140, ingeniously explains αἰν-όλεκ-τρον as a play on Ἀλέξ-αν-δρον with inverted syllables, 'calling Paris (no longer the man-repeller, but) the man of the fatal bridal.' But we can hardly accept this as more than a brilliant guess. It would, no doubt, suit excellently with the temper which dwells on the significance of Ἑλένα and κῆδος; but the real objection is not the play on the words, but the remoteness of the resemblance.

ll. 714-16. Corrupt, but not so as to obscure the sense. πολίταν of the MSS. must be πολιτᾶν, gen. plur., and the first word must be an adv. 'utterly,' or an adj. 'miserable.' I have taken provisionally παμ-πορθῇ (Seidler., Herm.) πολύθρηνον αἰῶνα διὰ πολιτᾶν μέλεον αἵμ' ἀνατλάσσα, 'having borne a ruined life of lament for the piteous blood of her sons.'

διὰ (Davies) for sake of metre, instead of ἀμφί; which might be a gloss on it.

l. 717. λέοντος ἴνιν, 'lion's whelp,' Conington's splendid and certain emendation of λέοντα σίνιν, which spoils the sense; in the strophe the lion is young and a delight, it is only in the antistrophe that it is grown up and become a pest. ἴνις, old poetic word, from ἰς, 'strength,' meaning the 'vigorous young' thing, occurs Eum. 323, Suppl. 43.

ἔθρεψεν, habitual aorist, used from Homer down, e. g. κοτύλην τις τυτθὸν ἐπέσχε Il. 22. 494; so the verbs below, ἔσχε, ἀπέδειξε, ἔτευξε, ἐφύρθη. Construe it by the present, 'rears.'

l. 718. δέμοις, local (Epic use).

γάλακτον, 'robbed of his mother's milk,' antithesis to φιλόμαστον, 'desiring the breast.' [Others take ἀγάλακτον οἴκοις, 'fed with the same milk as the house' (ἀ-γαλ, like ἀ-λοχος, ἀ-δελφός), and Hesych. so explains the word; but the other sense seems better.]

1. 720. προτελείεις, 65.

1. 723. MSS. ἔσχ', intrans. 'lay,' but as ἔχω is only used with adverbs intransitive, probably ἔσκε (Homeric frequentative for ἔην), which occurs Persae 656, is the right reading.

1. 725. σαίνων γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις, 'taught to fawn by its hunger-pangs.'

1. 728. ἦθος (for MSS. ἔθος), Conington's emendation, again improves the sense, and suits the strophe.

1. 730. MSS. μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις or ἄταισι. The best correction is μηλοφόνοισι σὺν ἄταις, Ahrens (Eng., Schn.), the syllables -σι σὺν having run into -σιν.

[Other attempts, ἄγαισι, ἄγαισι, H., δσαισι, Con., θανάτοισι, K., are less suitable.]

'For, in requital to those who reared him, with fell destruction among the flocks he makes a feast unbidden.'

1. 735. λερεύς τις ἄτας, 'a priest of ruin,' fine imaginative phrase, suggesting that Ἄρη, or Destruction, sends the lion to sacrifice to her.

1. 737. '(So) I should say there came at the first a spirit of windless calm,' etc.

παρ' αὐτά, 'at first,' opposed to what happened afterwards, παραπλῖνασ' ἐπέκρανεν. So Eur. pápavta δ' ἡσθεὶς ὕστερον στένει. The point of the comparison is the contrast between the softness and sweetness at first, and the bloody and bitter end.

Observe the passion and the splendour of these wonderful lines.

[Others take pápavta, 'in like manner.' Kl., K., Eng. So L.S., who however, mistranslate it in Demosthenes, l. c. Moreover Hesych. says παραχρήμα.]

1. 745. 'Yet turning aside [from the first sweetness and softness] she brought to pass the fatal fulfilment of marriage; she sped an evil neighbour, an evil guest, to the sons of Priam, at the bidding of Zeus, god of friendship, a Fury, a woe of brides.'

1. 750. Observe γέρον used as adj., 'old.' It is a poetical use from Homer down (γέρον σάκος, Od. 22. 184).

1. 751. μέγαν τελεσθέντα ὄλβον. 'Prosperity when grown to full estate.' Aeschylus is rejecting the old Greek superstition that Prosperity or Wealth brings woe; it is not wealth, he says, but always Sin. See Introduction, pp. xiii, xviii.

1. 760. μέτα, 'afterwards,' adverbially.

1. 762. καλλίπαις, 'is blessed in the children,' i. e. is good and prosperous in succeeding generations.

ll. 763-771. For the lesser corruptions of the MSS., which have been corrected, see critical notes. The only important corruption is *νεαρά φάους κόνον*, which is desperate. I have adopted Enger's *φάος τόκον* as the best sense and least violent change. (*νεαρά* comes from a gloss.)

[Paley's correction, *νέα δ' ἔφυσε κόνον*, gets a good sense and antithesis to *παλαιά μὲν*: but the real antithesis to *παλαιά μὲν* is given in *νεάζουσιν ἕβρον*, and *κόνον* is too bold, introducing as it does an altogether new idea.]

l. 764. 'At this time or at that, whenever the appointed day of birth arrive.'

l. 770. To take *θράσος μελαίνας μ. ἄτος* together, 'the boldness of a black Curse' (with H., Kl., Eng., Schn., Weil, etc.,) is very harsh; it is far better that the two births should be 'Young Violence,' 763, and *Θράσος*, 'Recklessness,' 'black curses to the house, like to their parents,' reading *εἰδομένας*.

l. 775. To omit *βίον* suits the metre and improves the sense; 'honours the just man.'

l. 776. *τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα*, 'the gold-bespangled dwellings.' *ἔδεθλα*, a certain and beautiful emendation by Auratus of the meaningless MSS. *ἔσθλα*.

l. 779. *δῶνα προσέμολε*, sc. *ἔδεθλα*, 'she visits the pure dwellings.' *προσέμολε*, gnomic aor. 717.

l. 780. *παράσημον αἰνῶ*, met., as often in Greek, from coining, 'with its counterfeit glory' (lit. 'stamped amiss with praise').

l. 781. 'And she guides all to the goal.'

Ostensibly the meaning of all this reflection (750-781) is that the sin of Paris and Helena has brought the misery on themselves and Troy; but the underlying meaning to the audience is that the past sins of Agamemnon and his house must bear other sins, and ruin in the end. So there is a terrible sense concealed in *πάν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμῶ*, namely, the shadow of the coming tragedy, which is effectively pointed by the entry of the king.

[*Agamemnon now approaches in a triumphal car, with his attendants and prisoners, and in another chariot Cassandra as prisoner; the Chorus address him.*]

ll. 782-809. 'Conqueror, my king, how shall I fitly address thee? It is easy to profess joy; show of sympathy in woe or weal is common, where there is no true feeling. Yet, a wise king can detect false flattery. When thou didst go forth we did not think well of thy wisdom; but now we greet heartily the victors. And thou shalt discern who of the citizens has been true guardian of thy state.']

l. 786. 'Neither overshooting nor running short of the due mark of praise,' where the English renders exactly the mixed metaphors of *ὑπεράρας* ('the bow'), and *ὑποκάμψας* ('with the chariot'), in the Greek.

1. 788. τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, 'Seeming to be,' they prefer [to being really].  
 1. 791. 'While no stab of pain reaches the heart,' i.e. without any sincere grief.

1. 793. ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς, 'in seeming sympathy.'

1. 794. 'Constraining their grave looks' to a false smile.

1. 795. προβατογνώμων, 'wise to discern his flock,' an obvious metaphor.

11. 796-8. 'The eyes of no man can escape him, which, as though from a kindly heart, with a watery love are fawning,' i.e. he can discern the 'watery' love with its pretence of good will. ὑδαρής, a most expressive word.

1. 801. 'No graceful portrait had I drawn of thee (μοι, dat. agent after pf. pass.), nor as one well wielding,' etc.

1. 803. MSS. read θράσος ἐκούσιον, no metre or sense. Some read ἀκούσιον, 'bringing to dying men courage against their will,' forcing the reluctant and suffering army to persevere. This is surely impossible. Franz ingeniously suggested ἐκ θυσιῶν, 'bringing to dying men courage from sacrifices,' 'encouraging the afflicted army by sacrificing Iphigeneia.' This is scarcely more satisfactory; but provisionally I adopt it.

11. 805, 6. With the MSS. reading πόνος we can only construe, 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart (lit. 'not from the top of the heart, nor unlovingly') the toil is welcome to those who have accomplished it,' which can only mean, 'the army no longer complain,' but the point is that 'we the citizens have changed our unfavourable opinion;' so the ordinary reading makes irrelevant sense. Weil suggests πνόος (= πνοή, Hesych.) and Eng. adopts it; the sense is then satisfactory: 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart a breeze of goodwill is wafted to the victors.' Intrinsically the word is quite possible, it is exactly like ῥόος, ῥοῦς, πλόος, πλοῦς. [Karst. suggests πόνον; but that makes the construction of εὐφραν harsh: 'I am friendly.']

1. 808. ἀκαίρως, 'amiss,' a euphemism; he means of course to hint at the plotting and faithlessness of the queen and her lover.

[11. 810-974. SCENE III. *The chariots stop; Klytaemnestra comes out of the palace to welcome the king, who speaks from the chariot.* First he gives thanks; speaks to Chorus about false friends; promises to see well to the state. Klytaemnestra describes her wretchedness while her lord was away, and her joy at seeing him again; she then calls her attendants to lay down purple carpeting for him to enter the palace. After some reluctance he agrees, and descends, bidding her be kind to Cassandra. The queen says she scorns the waste of wealth in comparison with joy at his return, and ends with a cry to Zeus to accomplish her prayers.]

1. 811. τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταυτίλους, might mean 'who helped to win for me'

(K.), but it better suits the pride of the speech to take it, 'helpers with me in our return.'

1. 812. ὦν, attracted relative for αἵ, since πράσσεσθαι has double acc. (700).

1. 813. δίκας... κλύοντες, 'not hearing pleadings from the tongue,' but with divine insight and justice.

1. 816. ψήφους ἔθεντο, 'voted,' only the word which ought to be a transitive verb governing φθοράς is expanded at the last moment into the more vivid ψήφους ἔθεντο. Grammar is sacrificed to picturesqueness. So exactly Soph. El. 709 στάντες δ' ὅθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ βραβῆς κλήρους ἐπῆλαν, i. e. *stationed* them by lot.

1. 817. The MSS. reading requires no alteration here: 'but to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled,' a quaint and fanciful but quite characteristic way of saying 'the other urn expected votes but did not get them.' The two urns (called in Attic *κάδισκοι*) were one for condemnation, one for acquittal; 'the bloody vessel' is of course the former. This was only one among various methods of balloting at Athens. [Others take χειρός, less naturally, as gen. after πληρουμένῳ. Paley's χεῖλος spoils the sense.]

1. 818. 'The smoke yet plainly shows the captured city;' ἀλοῦσα attributive, not part of the predicate.

1. 819. Ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι, 'the gusts of Destruction yet live; and dying with them the ash sends forth rich incense of wealth.' There is no need to alter with Herm. to θνηταί, 'sacrifices;' the strong bold imagery of Aeschylus might easily call the Fire of Troy 'the storms of Destruction.'

1. 823. I adopt Hermann's and Paley's ἐφραξάμεσθα for the MSS. (inappropriate) ἐπραξ. 'We set our watchful snares close round the city.' The same word, φράσσω (properly 'to hedge in,' or 'fence close'), is used of a net, 1376.

1. 824. 'The wild beast of Argos' is the armed troop concealed in the wooden horse.

1. 826. 'Springing its leap, what time the Pleiads set,' i. e. in early November. The common story that Troy was taken in spring Aeschylus deserts; probably tradition varied.

1. 828. αἵματος, gen. after ἄδην; cf. *satis*, *c. gen.* in Lat.

1. 830. μέμνημαι κλύων, not 'I remember hearing,' which is flat, but 'I heard and remember.'

1. 833. φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ', 'the prosperous friend;' φίλον substantial, as often.

1. 834. 'The poison of illwill seated at the heart.' καρδίαν, acc. after verb of sitting, cf. σέλημα ἡμέων 184, ναῦν ἐφέζετο 664.

1. 836. αὐτός, displaced to get next to αὐτοῦ, a common tend-

ency; so ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αὐτῷ Pr. 921; and similarly πρὸς ἄλλοι' ἄλλον *ib.* 276.

ll. 838-40. These words are variously taken according to the punctuation. The following seems simplest and most natural. 'I know and can tell (for well have I learnt) of that ghost of friendship, that phantom of a shade, men seeming to wish me truly well.' I.e. κάτοπτρον, εἰδωλον, δοκοῦντας, all in apposition, and acc. after λέγοιμ' ἄν. κάτοπτρον, a bold word for 'image'; it properly means 'mirror.'

l. 841. οὐχ ἱκόν, so (Odyssey 24. 117) Agamemnon says: 'And it was a full month ere we had sailed all across the wide sea, for scarce could we win to our cause Odysseus' (Butcher and Lang, p. 392).

l. 842. σειραφόρος, 'trace-horse,' who helped the yoke horses (the Atreidae) to draw the chariot.

l. 843. 'Whether indeed he be dead or living of whom I speak.'

l. 844. τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς, 'the other things' which concern,' the article goes on to the πρὸς.

l. 845. ἀγῶνας, 'gathering,' see note on 513.

l. 848. ὅτῳ, best taken neuter and general.

l. 850. πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσον. Porson's beautiful and convincing emendation of MSS. πήματος τρέψαι νόσον; which Hermann strangely defends, though τρέψαι is an unnatural word, and νόσον πήματος much harsher than πῆμα νόσου.

l. 852. δεξιόσομαι, 'I will give greeting;' but the construction is usually transitive, with acc. What he did do when he reached the μέλαθρα and δόμους ἐφεστίους was very different from thanksgiving!

l. 856. Observe her cynical shamelessness; she adopts the tone of a chaste and modest matron who scarcely likes to speak of her wifely love before others.

l. 857. A deadly double meaning here; in a terrible sense 'fear was waning' for her, but to Agamemnon the meaning was natural and simple, 'the elders and I have grown familiar in the king's long absence.'

l. 862. Note the dramatic irony again of ἔρημον in the mouth of the adulteress.

ll. 864, 5. Order a little loose, but meaning clear; 'and that when one had come with one woe another should bring a worse thereafter, announcing them to the house.'

l. 867. ὥχετεύετο, rumour 'came pouring in.'

l. 868. Ahrens' τέτρηται is a great improvement on MSS. τέτρωται, which is dull after τραυμάτων, 'no network were as full of holes as he' (*Mors.*). The cold-blooded phrase suits Klytaemnestra.

l. 871. Certainly interpolated. πολλήν ἄνωθεν has got in from 875, and the rest was written by some dull copyist. (H. has an elaborate and astonishing defence of it) Without the line the sense is, 'a second



Geryon, with triple body, a triple vest of earth he might have boasted, dying once with each shape.' Geryon, the three-headed (or as here three-bodied, *forma tricorporis umbrae*,) monster whose oxen Herakles drove away from Spain.

1. 872. ἐξηύχει λαβών, the MSS. reading is possible, 'he might have boasted it, having received it;' but λαβεῖν is perhaps more likely.

1. 875. 'Ofttimes have others loosed the high-hung halters from my neck, caught violently in the noose.' Others construe, 'seized me by violence and loosed;' but that would be ληφθείσης, the *act*, not λελημμένης, the *state*.

1. 878. 'In whom lie the pledges of our love.' κύριος, 'the owner,' 'the lord.' MSS. πιστευμάτων; but πιστωμάτων, the regular word, is surely right.

1. 880. Strophios, king of Phokis, friend (and according to one story brother-in-law) of Agamemnon, received Orestes, and brought him up with his own son Pylades. The details are given very variously.

1. 881. ἀμφλεκτα (like Lat. *anceps*) here means simply 'double;' 1585 it means 'disputed:' literally, it is 'spoken both ways,' which covers both meanings.

1. 884. βουλήν, 'the council,' the πρέσβος Ἀργείων who have helped the queen to rule.

ὥστε for ὡς, 'as it is men's wont.'

1. 885. πεσόντα is Agamemnon, whose fall before Troy would have been 'doubly' woeful; to himself, and to his kingdom and family at home.

1. 886. μέντοι, confirmative, 'verily,' 'assuredly;' so Plato, *Phaed.* 65 D φάμεν τι εἶναι δίκαιον; φάμεν μέντοι νῆ Δία, 'assuredly we do.'

1. 887. ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ, 'for myself however,' 661.

1. 888. κατεσβήκασι (intr. perf.), 'are dried up;' so of the sea, 959. So Hesiod, *Op.* 588, speaks of αἶγες σβεννύμεναι, 'goats which will not yield milk.' The common use is 'to quench,' of fire, etc.; but probably the earliest meaning was vaguer, suiting both fire and liquids.

1. 890. 'Weeping that the watch-fires lit for thee were ever unregarded,' i.e. the fires we lit night after night awaiting thee, who never camest. This is better than supposing λαμπτηρουχίαι to refer to *beacons of victory*, which would give a very strained sense to ἀτημελήτους, viz. 'unlit.' [Enger takes it as above, only reads needlessly καίονσα.]

1. 892. ὑπαί, best taken as governing ῥιπαῖς, 'beneath the light hum of the singing gnat.'

1. 893. θώσσω, word of obscure origin, usually 'to call, shout, cry.'

1. 894. 'More woes than the time of my sleep,' an abridged (but quite intelligible) expression; she means 'more woes than could be

suffered in the time I was asleep.' Observe also the picturesque *συνεύδοντος*, the time 'is sleeping with her' that passes while she sleeps. The *personifying* instinct pervades the language of Aeschylus. Somewhat similarly in Soph. *χρόνος συνὼν διδάσκει* O. C. 7, *ὁ προστατῶν χρόνος διηγέ μ'* El. 781, and *σύμφυτος αἰὼν* above, 107.

1. 896. *σταθμῶν*, in the old Homeric sense, 'stalls,' or 'folds.'

1. 897. 'The saviour forestay of the ship,' *Br.*, *πρότονος* being the ropes from the top of the mast to the bows, which kept the mast from falling back.

1. 899. *καί* has offended many editors, as the other nouns are unconnected; but Kl. and Schn. are no doubt right in saying that it connects 896-898, which describes the *protection and security* afforded by the master, with 899-901, which describes the *delight* of his unhopèd-for return. The transition from one set to the other set is marked by *καί*.

1. 902. *τάναγκαῖον*, 'the stress of need.'

1. 903. *ἀξιώ*, 'I greet him,' see 572.

1. 904. 'Let none envy me' my luck; 'let no (god or man) grudge my joy and triumph at my lord's return;' she acts the ordinary feeling of a pious Greek in moments of great delight, which increases the irony of the situation to those who know her purpose.

[*Here Klytaemnestra kneels to him.*]

1. 908. *τέλος*, 'task.'

1. 912. Observe the splendid irony again of this terrible line, 'That justice lead him to a home unlooked for.'

1. 913. 'All else my care, not overcome by sleep, shall order justly with God's aid, as fated.' *εἰμαρμένα*, 'being fated,' really causal use of participle. The dark irony is carried through these lines also. They seem to mean, 'We will be careful with God's aid to order things as is fit;' they do mean, 'What justice and fate require (the murder) I will by God's aid accomplish.'

1. 914. Leda, wife of Tyndareus, visited by Zeus in the form of a swan, laid two eggs; out of one came Helena, out of the other Castor and Pollux. This was one common form of a variously told tale.

1. 915. *εἰκότως* governs the datives; 'as befits my absence.'

1. 920. A contemptuous line; 'pour thy low-groveling clamour in my ears.' Note *χαμαιπετές* transferred from her to the cry.

1. 924. *ἐμοὶ μὲν*, 'to me at least;' the antithesis being suppressed, *μὲν* gets this meaning naturally.

1. 925. *λέγω*, 'I bid,' as often.

1. 926. *ποδοψήτρων*, 'foot-rugs' [*ψα*-, 'rub'], contemptuous again.

1. 927. *κληδὼν ἀΰτεϊ*, 'fame's voice is loud.'

1. 929. 'Count a man happy when he has ended his life in prosperity,' the well-known Greek thought, cf. Soph. O. T. 1530. The rapidity of

Agamemnon's thoughts make the language a little obscure. 'Fame does not require such gauds; prudence is God's best gift; no man can be called happy till his death;' i. e. they are needless, these splendours, and perhaps dangerous; who knows what may happen even to me?

1. 930. MSS. read *ἐἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν*, which is quite possible Greek, but only as a *double* conditional sentence, where *πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν* is the verb, not only of the protasis to *εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ*, but also strictly of the *apodosis* to some other protasis understood. E. g. Dem. Meid. 582 fin. *ἐἰ οὗτοι χρήματα ἔχοντες μὴ προοῖντ' ἄν*, if these men *would not spend money if they had it*; Isocr. Archid. 120 *ἐἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἄν ἀξιώσειε ζῆν ἀποστερούμενος τῆς πατρίδος*, 'if no one *would care to live if deprived* of his country.' And without second protasis expressed, *ἐἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν τοῦτο* Dem. Phil. 1. § 18. So here the MSS. reading means, 'if in all things so [not *I were to prosper*, which is *πρᾶσσοιμι*, but] *I might prosper*' ('should chance so befall' or something of the kind). Putting it otherwise, *ἐἰ πρᾶσσοιμι* means, 'if *I were to prosper*,' *ἐἰ πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν*, 'if *I have a chance of prospering*,' and this latter makes quite good sense. In fact *πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν* is a variation, not for *πρᾶσσοιμι*, but for *πράξω*, less confidently expressed. I see therefore no need to take *πρᾶσσοιμεν* (H., D.), though doubtless this also would make perfectly good sense: 'If so I fared in all things then I need not fear,' if everything were to turn out as this has, my luck would indeed be good. Nor is there any need of Weil's ingenious conjecture *εἶπον τὰδ' ὥς ...*

1. 931. 'Yet order this not counter to my purpose.' Observe aor. imper. with *μή*, contrary to rule; but readily explained by the order, the verb coming first. *γνώμη*, like *γῶναι*, can be used for 'resolve.'

1. 932. 'I too, be assured, shall not break my purpose;' *ἐμέ* is emphatic as well as *γνώμην*; as though he said, 'Purpose! I too have one as well as thou.'

1. 933. 'Perchance *in fear* thou mad'st this vow?' Having failed to get him to comply as a favour, she tries a taunt of cowardice. *ἄν* of course goes with *ἤβω*; she *means*, 'you *did* vow,' but the conditional form of the sentence ('you may have done' = '*perhaps* you did') points the sneer better, with its ironical moderation. So Soph. O. T. 523 *ἦλθε τοῦναιδος τάχ' ἄν*, 'perchance this reproach came.' So *παρέκοπης ἄν* 1252.

1. 934. The answer is that of a dignified and unyielding king: 'If e'er man did, with knowledge I spake my resolve.' *τέλος*, 'the final decision.' Agamemnon replies in effect that it was not a cowardly vow but a deliberate purpose.

1. 935. *τί ἄν δοκεῖ*, one of those short phrases like *ἴνα τί*, where one would not say the verb is understood, but rather that *τί* stands for the omitted clause. So Plat. Phaedr. 234 C *τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος; οὐχ ὑπερφυῶς εἰρῆσθαι* (see Riddell, Dig. of Gr. Id. 121).

1. 938. The very sentiment of the chorus, 456.

1. 939. 'Who stirs no hatred, is not envied either.' You must risk φθόνος, the evil envy, if you wish to have ζήλος, the desirable envy. So (Menex. 242 A) Socrates, describing Athens after the war, says, ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι προσπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ζήλος ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος. Arist. Rhet. 2. 11 defines the two, ἐπικικέσθαι ὁ ζήλος καὶ ἐπικικάν, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν φαῦλον καὶ φαύλαν.

1. 940. Agamemnon, already yielding, tries a last appeal to her womanly dignity. 'A woman should not be contentious;' but she skilfully appeals to his generosity as victor. 'It becomes the fortunate to be vanquished too,' to yield in their turn.

1. 942. 'Dost thou too esteem this victory in the strife?' νίκην τήνδε, this victory of which you speak, taking up νικᾶσθαι. [Goodwin, who has discussed with great subtlety all this passage (Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1877), translates, 'is *this* the kind of victory ..?' i.e. τὸ νικᾶσθαι, ironically. But καὶ σύ is the really emphatic part, not τήνδε, and the meaning given above is simpler.] Observe δήριος, Ionic gen.

1. 943. 'Yield: yet the victory grant me willingly;' i.e. give way, but with good grace. For μέντοι γε, cf. Dem. Phil. 1. § 49 οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δία προαιρεῖσθαι, 'not however by Zeus that his intention is.' The line seems to have no caesura; but μέντοι is perhaps slightly felt to be a divisible word, being a compound of two particles.

1. 944. ὑπαὶ . . λυοί, tmesis, 450.

1. 945. 'These sandals, slaves beneath my feet' (*Mors.*) renders the expression very aptly. For πρό-δουλος, cf. ἀντί and its use in comp. Aesch. uses ἀντιδουλος Frag. 180.

1. 946. The reading of Fa. σὺν ταῖσδε (i.e. ἀρβύλαις) makes good sense, but the μή is then too late in the sentence, since it means 'lest;' with καὶ τοῖσδε, μή is 'not,' and its position natural.

ἁλουργές (used as subst. from adj. ἁλουργής, 'sea-wrought,' i.e. made from sea-purple), 'sea-purple cloths.'

1. 948. MSS. σωματοφθορεῖν, corrupt; best reading is δωματοφθορεῖν (Schütz, Herm., Eng., Schn.), 'to waste the house's wealth,' which she answers 961.

1. 950. τούτων, gen. of reference, lit. 'as regards these things.' 'Thus much for this.' Cf. τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῆς; Soph. El. 317.

1. 954. ἐξαίρετον, the regular word for the choice prizes *taken out* of the booty for kings or heroes: ἐξαίρετον δῶρημα Eum. 402, ἐξείλεθ' αὐτῷ κτήμα Soph. Tr. 245.

1. 956. 'But since I am subdued, to hearken to thee in this.' ἀκούειν consec. or epexegetic inf.

[After 957 Agamemnon's sandals are untied by an attendant while the queen is speaking; she then, probably yet speaking, escorts him slowly

to the central door: after 972 he enters with his train, and she utters her short prayer, 973, 4, then follows him. *Kassandra remains seated and silent in the chariot.*]

1. 959. A fine answer to his scruples: the sea is boundless (*κατασβέσει* 888), we can get more purple; the house is royal and wealthy.

1. 960. 'The juice ever fresh, precious as silver, of plenteous purple,' very Aeschylean accumulated phrase. Schn. quotes Theopompus (150 years later than Aesch.) as saying, 'the sea-purple (among the Kolophonians) fetched its weight in silver.'

1. 961. 'We have a house, to supply store of these things.' No reason to alter *οἶκος* of MSS. to *οἴκοις*. *ἔχειν*, epexegetic. *τῶνδε*, partitive, 'some of.' Cf. Ar. Ach. 184 *ἐυνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων*, 'they began to collect stones.' [Perhaps *ἄλλης* for *ἀναξ* (Karst.) is right.]

1. 964. *προὔνεχθέντος*, 'had it been ordered,' to me . . . when devising, etc., gen. abs. conditional.

1. 965. MSS. *μηχανωμένης*; possible Greek ('when I was devising'), but very unlikely with the other fem. genitives. The dative is the best correction, governed by *προὔνεχθέντος*. *κόμιστρα*, 'price for thy return.' Lit. 'for bringing thee back,' *κομίζω*.

1. 966. *ἴκετ'*, gnomic aor.

1. 967. *σκιάν σειρίου κυνός*, 'shadow against the Scorching Hound,' loose use of the gen.

*σειρίου κυνός*: *Seirios* was 'the dog of Orion,' constellation near Orion (the brightest star usually being called *Seirios*): it rose about mid-July, the hot, unhealthy time of year. Hence Hom. Il. 22. 30 says of it *κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται*. Cf. Verg. G. 4. 285 '*rapidus torrens Sirius Indos*.'

11. 968-72. An expansion of two metaphors: 'the return of the master brings as it were warmth in winter and coolness in summer.'

1. 972. *τελείου*, 'the rightful lord,' the man whose will is law in the house, who has the *τέλος* or final authority. This suggests to her *τέλειος Ζεύς*, in a different sense, 'Zeus the fulfiller.'

[*Agamemnon goes in: she stops and prays with lifted hands.*]

1. 974. *τῶν περ*, Epic for *ἄν περ*.

[*Klytaemnestra goes in, and the Third Scene ends. The Chorus sing the Third Stasimon.*]

*Strophe 1* (975-86). 'Whence come these obstinate forebodings? My heart is fearful. It is long since they sailed to Troy.' (*Ant.* 987-1000). 'I have seen them safe-returned; yet still within comes misgiving; may it be false!'

*Strophe 2* (1001-17). 'In health, disease is near; in prosperity, a hidden reef. But wealth may be saved by timely sacrifice; famine averted by timely harvest.'

*Ant.* 2 (1018-34). 'Only blood once spilt no charm can recall; for did Zeus not slay Asklepios? But for the uncertainty of the future I should have poured out these misgivings; as it is, I hide them in gloomy silence.'

l. 976. Several edd. prefer δείγμα (Fl.), construing 'a spectre,' but there is no evidence of any such meaning, and δέϊμα (Fa.) is more impressive and natural. προστατήριον, 'stationed before,' describes the *haunting* of the misgiving, 'why flits thus obstinately this fear, haunting my heart prophetic?'

l. 979. Notice the imaginative language: the fear is now called 'a prophetic song.'

l. 980. οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι is much the easiest reading, and being a MS. reading, should be preferred to conjecture ἀποπτύσαν. 'Nor to spurn it away like dark dreams does ready confidence sit at my heart's dear throne;' the inf. depending on θάρσος.

l. 983. The reading of MS. Farnese, with alteration of ξυνεμβόλοις (unknown word) to ξυνεμβολαῖς, will construe: 'Time has grown old since the cables were fastened (on the fastenings of the cables) of the vessel on the sand.' But there is probably some corruption: ἐπί is odd, so is συνεμβολαῖς, so is ἀκάτας sing.

l. 990. The 'dirge,' or θρήνος, was sung with only flute, no lyre. So Eum. 331 ὕμνος ἐξ Ἑρινύων ἀφόρμικτος.

l. 992. τὸ πᾶν, see Appendix 2.

l. 995. 'Not vainly bodes my thought, my heart beating with eddies against my true prophetic breast' (or τελεσφόρους δίναις, 'with eddies of fulfilment').

σπλάγχνα and κέαρ are in apposition. The sense is, 'my boding heart is not vain; my bosom's foresight is true, and will be fulfilled.'

l. 998. I have taken Kennedy's τοιαῦτ' for the corrupt τοι of Farnese MS. as nearer than Hermann's τὸ πᾶν. The Fl. MS. has no metre. The meaning then is, 'But I pray that such things may turn out lies, far from my expectation, and be not accomplished.'

l. 1001. MSS. are corrupt here: see notes on text. The metre is probably 3- three times repeated: and I have taken Paley's μάλα γέ τοι | τὸ μεγάλας | ὑγείας (only spelling this last word as usual, and supposing -ει- short with Klausen, compare δέϊλαος, γεραίός, τοιούτος, etc., see 1256). The sense is, 'Of lusty health at least the bounds are insatiable,' i. e. no man is ever satisfied with the greatest prosperity: (*forebodings are therefore just*) 'for disease the neighbour presses hard behind the wall.' The words in italics show the connection.

l. 1005. Perhaps a line omitted here, see 1022.

l. 1006. ἐπαισεν, gnomic aorist, 'strikes oftentimes a hidden reef;' so ἔδν, ἐπόντισε below.

l. 1008. 'And of gathered wealth if fear casts out a part with well-measured throw,—the whole house doth not founder, with sorrow overlaid, nor does it sink the hall.' The construction is broken: **δκνος βαλῶν** is nom. pendens, and the subject is changed. It is true (as K. observes) that **δκνη** would set the construction right ('the house if it cast out in fear'). But it is more in Aeschylus' manner to personify fear; and the anacoluthon is of a natural kind. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1150 **λόγος δ' ὅς ἐμπέπτωκε . . συμβαλοῦ γνώμην**, 'the tale that has reached my ears, advise me.'

**πρὸ χρημάτων** may go together, 'part to save the wealth,' i. e. part to save the whole; but it is better to take **προ . . βαλῶν** as tmesis. (Perhaps indeed Enger's **πρὸ μὲν τι** is right.)

l. 1015. 'A bounteous gift of plenty from Zeus,' etc. The adjectives accumulated, as often. The connection is abrupt: perhaps **τοί** is corrupt.

l. 1018. Sense: (a labouring boat may be saved, a famine averted,) 'but blood once shed is irrevocable.' The terrible words **τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν**, etc., at once raise the thought of the bloody past of the Pelopidae, of the slaughter of Iphigeneia not yet avenged,—and of the coming vengeance which the chorus suspect and would fain avert.

ll. 1022-24. I have taken Hartung's **ἀπέπανσεν** as the nearest to the MSS. **αὐτ' ἐπανσε**, and read it as a question. 'And did not Zeus slay, for a warning, him that was skilled to bring back from the dead?' Zeus killed Asklepios, son of Apollo, the healer, with lightning for bringing the dead to life. But these lines do not correspond to the strophe; and either a line is (as I have marked it) there omitted, or here is something superfluous. If the latter, Hermann's reading **Ζεὺς δὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν ἐπανσεν** (omitting **αὐτε, οὐδέ** and **ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ**) is as likely as any other; but it is perhaps best to leave it.

l. 1025. 'But were it not that one lot by divine decree hinders another from winning overmuch, my heart, outstripping my tongue, had poured out these bodings;' as it is, I brood in secret. I. e. I take refuge in the thought that sometimes fate interferes with fate (and so there may be an unseen counter-fate to check the evil destiny of Agamemnon's house).

l. 1026. **ἐκ θεῶν** with **εἶργε**, really repeating more precisely the notion of **τεταγμένα**. The above is substantially Prof. Goodwin's rendering, and it is the clearest sense proposed for these difficult lines.

l. 1031. 'In grief of soul without a hope to unravel aught profitable 'mid the stirrings of my heart.' **τολυπεύω** is a Homeric metaphor for 'contrive,' 'accomplish,' lit. to 'wind off wool.' The rapid change of metaphor, from 'winding wool,' to 'stirring fire,' is not unlike the poet, see 786.

[11. 1035-1071. SCENE IV. (first part), *Klytaemnestra comes out and sees Cassandra still seated in the chariot. She speaks to her imperiously.*

'Go within, and take your lot humbly; our royal house will treat you more kindly than others might.' Then, as she gets no answer, she becomes more impatient, and finally departs.]

1. 1036. ἀμηνίως, 'graciously;' with cold scorn Klytaemnestra treats the fate of Cassandra as a favour of the gods.

1. 1037. 'A partner in the lustral bowl;' i.e. a member of the household; for all, even slaves, shared in the household religious rites.

1. 1038. κτησίον βωμοῦ, 'the altar of Zeus Ktesios,' or guardian of wealth, which included slaves.

1. 1041. I have kept the reading of Fa. But perhaps the right reading is Fl. emended thus: δουλίας μάζης βίον, 'the life of slavish fare.' Blomf.

1. 1042. δ' οὖν, coming to practical conclusion, 'be that as it may,' 'anyhow.' Cf. 676. 'Should this hard lot oppress one,' the opt. generalising the statement by removing it from this case. But the Farn. reading ἐπιρρέπει may be right.

1. 1044. ἤμυσαν καλῶς, 'have reaped good harvest,' i.e. got rich. The general sense is 'old-established wealthy houses are kinder to slaves than *nouveaux riches*.' It suits Klytaemnestra's royal pride to say so: but the remark savours more of democratic Athens, with her commercial wealth, than the heroic times.

1. 1046. I.e. 'thou hearest how we are wont to deal with slaves.'

1. 1047. λέγουσα πάνεταί, 'she has spoken.' The chorus can only call Klytaemnestra's speech 'clear,' σαφῇ; they feel its cold cruelty.

1. 1048. 'Thou art caught within the toils of fate: obey if thou canst, but perhaps thou wilt not.' (ἀλοῦσα, great improvement on MSS. ἀν οὔσα; ἀν is not wanted in advance, the sentence being only formally conditional.)

πείθοι' ἀν εἰ πείθοιο is the mildest way possible of advising; lit. it is 'thou would'st hearken if thou would'st.' So 1394 χαίροιτ' ἀν εἰ χαίροιτ', 'joy if ye will.' The ἀν is carried on to ἀπειθοίης; so Soph. O. T. 937 ἤδοιο μέν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀν; ἀσχάλλοις δ' ἴσως. So also Ar. Eq. 1054.

1. 1050. The 'swallow' was a recognised simile in Greek for 'foreign speech;' the non-Hellenic languages they despised, and compared to the twittering of birds. So Ar. Ran. 681, when the poet satirises Kleophon for his foreign birth, he says, 'on his lips screeches Θρηκία χελιδών.' So Av. 1681.

1. 1052. 'My words must reach her mind and so prevail.'

1. 1053. τὰ λῦστα τῶν παρεστώτων, 'the best as things are.' The chorus are sympathetic, but see the hopelessness of resistance. They treat Cassandra simply as a dazed captive, too timid to move or speak,



It makes all the more startling the effect of her possessed cries and prophetic visions when she does speak.

l. 1055. MSS. *θυραίαν τήνδ'*, which is no sense. *θυραίαν τῇδε* (D.) is no use, for the constr. *σχολῇ ἐμοὶ τρίβειν θυραίαν*, possible in itself, is impossible if *θυραίαν* comes first. Read *θυραίᾳ τῇδ'*, 'I have no time to loiter here without.' (Some suppose *τήνδε* = *τήνδε τὴν τριβήν*, after *τρίβειν*: sufficiently improbable.)

l. 1056. *τὰ μὲν .. μῆλα*, article separated from subst., really a usage from Epic poetry, where the article is still a demonstrative or pronoun: 'they, the sheep.' Cp. *τὰ δ' ἐπώχετο κῆλα θεοῖο* Il. i. 383, 'they came flying, (the) shafts of the god.' So here, 'they stand already by the central hearth, the sheep ready for the fiery sacrifice.' The 'central hearth' was the altar of the Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος, or 'god of the household enclosure,' the representative family deity: *Ζηνὸς ἐρκεῖου* (Soph. Antig. 487) means 'the family.' Observe the loose local gen. *ἐστίας μεσομφάλου*, vaguely indicating the *region*, again an epic usage, e.g. Il. 9. 219 *ἴζεν τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου*, Od. i. 23 *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσσόμενου Ὑπερίονος*, *ιβ.* 12. 27 *ἢ ἀλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς*.

l. 1058. *ἐλπίσαι*, sc. *ἡμῖν*, 'for ne'er we hoped,' etc. There is however something to be said for K.'s reading *ἡμῖν* for *ἥδη*: *ἐλπίσαι* is harsh with no preceding dative.

l. 1061. *σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερὶ*, 'then show me with barbarous hand instead of voice;' the apparent stupidity of such a suggestion is removed on the stage by Klytaemnestra's meaning gestures.

l. 1064. *κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν*, 'obeys her foolish thoughts.'

l. 1067. 'Foam out her spirit in blood,' splendidly continuing the metaphor (begun in *χαλινόν*) of a wild colt.

l. 1068. 'I will not waste more words and be thus scorned.'

[*She goes out resentfully.*]

l. 1071. *καίνισον ζυγόν*, 'handsel thy yoke,' i.e. 'by the new servitude.'

[SCENE IV. (second part), ll. 1072-1177. *Kassandra steps out of the chariot and advances to the front of the stage.*]

In this astonishing scene Aeschylus seems to have touched the limit of what speech can do to excite pity and terror. The cries come forth to Apollo, repeated louder and more wildly as the inspiration grows upon her; she smells the 'rust of murder on the walls' of the bloody house to which she comes a prisoner, and visions rise, first of the past wickedness, then of the present; and lastly she bewails, in songs of 'searching and melting beauty,' her own piteous fate. The chorus sustain the part of the Argive citizen, sympathetic and horror-struck, and finally bewildered and overpowered by her clearer and clearer prophecies of the bloody deeds that are imminent.

1. 1072. 'Woe, woe, alas! O Earth! O Apollo, Apollo!' She is looking no doubt at the god's image.

πόποι is simply an interjection like παπαῖ, τοτοῖ, etc.; the old scholiastic note which translated it 'gods' is now generally rejected.

δα is Doric form of γὰ or γῆ.

1. 1074. ὀτοτύζω, like φεύζω 1308, αἰώζω, οἰμώζω, etc., is a verb formed from an interjection.

Λοξίας, name of Apollo, as the 'utterer' of oracles, cf. Eum. 19 Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.

1. 1075. 'He is not one to need a mourner' (lit. *to have*). Apollo is the god of light (φοῖβος) and joy and healing (παῖαν), and has nothing to do with groans and laments, which belong to the Chthonian gods, Hades, and the Furies, etc.

1. 1079. προσήκονθ' (observe the *personal* construction, like δίκαιός εἰμι, see 16), 'it becometh him not to be at hand in lamentation.'

1. 1081. ἀγυιάτης, collat. form of ἀγυιεύς, 'god of the ways,' a title of Apollo as presiding over the out-door life. There was no doubt a statue in front of the palace, cf. 1072.

ἀπόλλων, 'my destroyer,' see note on 687. Apollo had loved her, and been deceived, and in revenge he made all disbelieve her. See 1203 sqq.

1. 1082. οὐ μῶλιν, lit. 'not scantily,' i. e. 'utterly.'

1. 1084. δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί, 'even in a slave's heart,' the strict meaning of περ.

1. 1091. Read κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας, as the Farnese MS. has it (only καὶ ἀρτ. for κάρτ.) instead of the nom. as the other MSS. read it; for it is far better to construe συνίστορα transitive; it is the *house* which σύνουδε, not the *crimes*; and the nom. of the MSS. is due to not seeing this. For adj. governing acc. cp. θυμοβόρου φρένα 103. 'Nay, a god-accursed house, that knoweth many a murder of kindred, and many a strangling; a human slaughter-house, a dripping floor.' αὐτοφόνα: for αὐτός, used in compounds for describing murder of kin, compare Soph. Antig. 57, 1175; Theb. 805; inf. 1573.

'δαντήριος cannot be passive,' says Paley, objecting to the MS. reading; but it need not be passive; it means 'a dripping' floor, not 'a besprinkled floor.' Perhaps πίδου λαντ.' 'splashing the floor' (Karst.).

1. 1096. She sees a vision of the children of Thyestes (father of Aegisthos) whom his brother Atreus (father of Agamemnon) served up to him at a banquet. The quarrel is mentioned below (1583).

κλαίμενα σφαγὰς, 'bewailing their own slaughter.'

11. 1098-9. The MSS. mostly read ἤμεν at the beginning of both lines, though M. (acc. Hermann) has ἦ μὴν in 1098. This will construe: 'Verily we had heard thy prophetic fame, but we seek no pro-

phets;' which is very dull sense, and very bad sound. I believe with Weil and Enger that *ἦμεν* has been erroneously repeated, and has ousted *τούτων* from the second line. The sense is then 'we had heard (*ἦμεν πεπυσμένοι*) thy prophetic fame; but of these things we seek no prophets;' i.e. it does not require inspiration to tell *past* evils. Kassandra's vision immediately leaps forward to the future. [If the Med. really reads *ἦ μὴν* in 1098, it is a correction to avoid *ἦμεν* twice; but in Merkel's facsimile edition it is given in both lines as *ἦμεν*.]

l. 1100. A new vision comes on, of the murder of Agamemnon in his bath, by means of a cloak thrown round him and two blows of a dagger. The murder does not happen till 1343; this is the prophetic foresight.

*μήδεται*, 'she plots,' Klytaemnestra of course; the audience understand, but not the chorus.

l. 1109. *πὼς φράσω τέλος*; the sentence ought to end with *κτερεῖς*; but it is broken, and these words substituted.

l. 1111. *δρέγματα*, this neat emendation is no doubt right: the acc. is cognate. Lit. 'hand after hand reaches forth a-stretch;' i.e. blow on blow comes. (The MSS. *προτείνει δρεγομένα* will construe 'stretches, reaching forth;' but *προτείνει* is never intrans.)

l. 1112. The prophecy is clearer; but it has only changed from 'riddles' without a clue (the vision of line 1096) to a 'dim prophecy' with details but no names (the vision of 1100); so she 'does not yet understand.'

l. 1113. *ἐπαργέμοις*, 'dim;' properly of a *white* film *over* (*ἐπ'.. ἀργ...*) the eye, probably cataract.

l. 1115. 'A net of Death,' is a fine name for the cloak which made him helpless. 'But *she* is the snare, who shares his bed, who shares the deed of blood.'

*συναυτία*, 'sharing the guilt' with the *δίκτυον*; of Aegisthos there is no thought yet. [Notice the rare hiatus *τι' Αἰδου*. So Soph. Trach. 1203.]

l. 1117. *στάσις*, some comm. (Schn., Pal., K.) construe 'a troop,' and suppose it to mean the Furies, alleging *ποίαν Ἐρινύν* as confirmatory. It is true that Aesch. does use *στάσις* in this sense, but always with something to make it clear, as *τῇδε στάσει* Cho. 114, *στάσις ἀμά* ('our company') Eum. 311, *στάσις πάγκοινος ἄδε* Cho. 458. To use *στάσις* absolutely, without article or defining gen., for the 'band of Furies' would be very harsh.

It is better (with Eng., Kl., D.) to take it as meaning 'Strife' personified; this is quite as Aeschylean a usage (Pr. 200, 1088; Pers. 188, 715, 738; Eum. 977) and the answer *ποίαν Ἐρινύν* quite as appropriate; indeed, being singular, more so. 'Let Strife, insatiable against the Race, raise cry of triumph o'er the stoning-sacrifice.'

Still an obscure passage. If *λευσίμου* is right, *Kassandra* must mean: 'Let the people arise and stone the accursed murderers; let that "Strife" which besets the bloodstained family sing triumph over her death.' But if so we must suppose that the prophetess' vision as yet only foresees *Agamemnon's* death, not *Klytaemnestra's*, who died by *Orestes'* hand; this is reserved for a later vision, 1280. (*λεύσιμος* cannot mean 'deserving stoning,' as *Pal., K., L. S., etc.*)

1. 1120. *φαιδρύνει*, 'cheers.'

1. 1121. A very difficult and corrupt passage. It is best to take *Dindorf's* *καίρια* for the varied unintelligibilities of the MSS. Translate: 'To my heart has run the blood-drop saffron-hued (i.e. pale with terror) which at the last hour (lit. *at the time appointed, the mortal moment*) falls and ends with the beams of setting life;' i.e. 'my blood is pale, like a man fainting and failing at the point of death.' The general sense is plain: the chorus are in sudden and deep alarm.

1. 1125. The murder now comes upon her in a vision of unspeakable power and terror. 'Behold, behold! Keep off from his mate the bull! in the robe she has caught him, and smites with the treacherous thrust of her black horn!' lit. 'with blackhorned device.'

1. 1127. *μελαγκέρφ*, though apparently not the reading of any MS. (for Prof. Goodwin, who has reexamined M., asserts that the original reading was *μελάγκερων* as in most of the others), is yet plainly right; both the accusative alone and the dative *μηχανήματι* alone would be very harsh, while *μελαγκέρφ μηχανήματι* is thoroughly Aeschylean.

1. 1128. *κύτος* and *λέβης*, the 'vessel' and 'cauldron' are varied words for the bath. *κύται*, for metre's sake, for MSS. *τεύχει*. *τύπτει* does not answer to *φόνου* of strophe; and one is possibly corrupt.

1. 1130. The chorus are more and more uneasy; and in their restlessness break out into complaint that prophecy is always terrifying men, and bringing evil. The same complaint was made by *Ahab* (1 Kings 22. 8), and by *Agamemnon* of *Kalchas* (Il. 1. 108).

1. 1133. *Hermann* alters *στέλλεται* and *θεσπιφδόν* into *τέλλεται* and *θεσπιφδοί*, both needlessly. *στέλλεται*, 'is sent forth,' has more meaning than *τέλλεται*, 'comes:' and the phrase 'by woes the wordy arts bring men prophetic terror to learn' is quite Aeschylean. The scornful phrase for prophecy, *πολυεπεῖς τέχνη*, suits their present resentment born of fear.

1. 1137. *θροῶ . . ἐπεγχάσα* is the reading of all the MSS., which is a syllable too much. *Herm.* reads *θροεῖς . . ἐπεγχέας*, 'thou speakst of my woe, mingling it with his;' and most edd. follow him. But the difficulty is that the chorus had not alluded to *Kassandra*. The best correction is *ἐπεγχαί*, given by Prof. Campbell (which had also oc-

curred independently to me). It is *epexegetic infinitive*: 'for my own woe I bewail, to mingle it with his.'

l. 1138. ἤγαγες (so MSS., no alteration needed), a sudden appeal to Apollo, as in 1087.

l. 1141. αὐτῆς for σεαντῆς, not uncommon in poetry, as e.g. 1297.

l. 1142. νόμον ἀνομον, 'a wild tuneless measure.' ξουθός is an obscure word, but its commonest application is to the nightingale, as here; and such phrases as ξουθοὶ ἀνεμοί, ξουθα λαλῶν, seem to point to its meaning 'clear-voiced.'

l. 1145. Ἴτυς son of Philomela and Tereus; the mother slew him and served him up to his father, in rage at finding a rival in her sister Prokne. The two sisters then fled from Tereus' wrath, and were changed into birds. Philomela as the nightingale never ceases to lament Itys. (Others change the names Prokne and Philomela, making the former mother of Itys.)

ἀμφιθαλή κακοῖς βίον, 'all her life rich only in sorrow;' a beautiful expression. The acc. is best taken as acc. of duration.

l. 1147. περιβάλον γάρ, Blomfield's satisfactory correction. 'For the gods set round her a feathery form, and a sweet life, without tears.' The difficulty is, how can the sorrow-laden nightingale be said to have 'a sweet life without tears?' The most ingenious solution is to take (with Eng.) κλαυμάτων ἄτερ with περιβάλον, 'they changed her without pain, for *me* remains the sharp sword.' And this is at first sight tempting. But the order is strained and really the same difficulty remains with γλυκύν. The truth no doubt is this: that the chorus say, 'You are like the nightingale, a ceaseless singer of sad song;' to which beautiful comparison Cassandra replies in effect: 'Yes, but how unlike in fate; her song is plaintive, but she has no real sorrow; she flees on free wings and has nought to mar her sweet life; I am doomed to a cruel death.'

l. 1150. 'Whence hast thou these inspired throes of vain grief, and framest in song these terrors with ill-omened cry, and likewise with loud-voiced measures?' ὄρθιοι νόμοι are the sustained lyric songs as opposed to the δύσφατος κλαγγή or meaningless cries which accompany them.

l. 1155. 'Whence the bounds of thy prophetic path, boding but ill?' i.e. who guides you on the path of prophecy? The answer to this comes really 1202.

l. 1159. ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς, 'I thrive with nurture.'

l. 1163. MSS. read νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι. The sense is plain: 'a new born child could understand;' and doubtless the first syllable of ἀν-θρώπων contains the necessary particle ἀν. I have taken Karsten's guess in default of better.

1. 1164. δάκρυ for δάγματι (H.) to suit antistr.; though, as δάγματι makes a proper dochmiac, it may be right.

1. 1165. θρηνύμενας, i. e. σοῦ, 'when thou waildest aloud o'er thy bitter woe.' The dialectic form θρηνύμενας for θρηνόμενας is Enger's reading to suit θανατήφορα of the antistrophe.

Θραύματ' is the best supported reading, lit. 'shatterings' for me to hear; i. e. 'it breaks my heart to hear.' Many adopt θαύματ' the reading of Fa., but it seems too weak a word for such a climax, and the other is not too bold for Aeschylus.

1. 1170. 'They brought no cure to save the city from suffering as indeed she suffers.'

ἄκος, a kind of cogn. after ἐπηρέσαν: what is now called 'internal' accusative, lit. 'they aided no cure;' a perfectly natural use.

1. 1172. MSS. θερμόνους ταχ' ἐμπέδω. H. reads θερμόν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδω, 'shall lay on the ground a hot ear' Others try and construe it as it stands, 'I thus passionate shall cast myself on the earth,' which is surely impossible. The best suggestion is that in the text θερμόν οὐ στάγ' (which I owe to my friend Mr. T. Miller, of Canterbury School, New Zealand), 'and shall not I let fall a hot drop upon the ground?' The chorus have expressed deep sympathy with her, and emotion at her wild laments, and she replies: 'alas for our city's ruin! alas for all the sacrifices of my father! they could not aid the city: she lies low; and shall not I weep?' The last line is just what is wanted. στάξ does not occur for 'a drop,' but στάγες does, Ap. Rh. 4. 626, which is enough; indeed the word is a natural formation, and Schn. had already conjectured it, only he read θερμόχουν. Compare ῥάξ, πτάξ, from ῥαγ-, πτακ-.

1. 1175. τίθησι μελίζειν, 'moves thee to sing,' 'makes thee to sing,' thy piteous deadly woes.

[11. 1178-1330. SCENE IV. (third part). Cassandra's fit of wild visions is past, and she speaks of the past more calmly (1178-1200); then tells the chorus of how Apollo's wrath fell on her (1198-1214); then rising with new inspiration darkly and terribly announces the murder of the king (1215-1255). Next follows a marvellous speech, in which she foresees her own death, and strips off her crown; and prophesies the vengeance of Orestes (1256-1294). She then goes sadly into the house of blood.]

1. 1178. καὶ μὲν, 'and now,' a new mood and resolve have come. Observe how richly and boldly the metaphors and similes come; a bride, a strong wind, a hound, a chorus, a revel-rout.

1. 1180. 'But clear and fresh it shall come blowing toward the sunrise, to dash wave-like to the light a woe far greater than mine.' λαμπρός is hard to render; the Greeks called a *strong* wind 'bright;' so here in any other language two words are required, one to be anti-

thesis to *ἐκ καλυμμάτων*, the other to suit the new metaphor of wind. Cp. *λαμπρὸς καὶ μέγας καθιείς* Ar. Eq. 430 *λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος* Hdt. 2. 96.

1. 1184. *συνδρόμῳ* best with *βηλατούσῃ*, 'close following I scent out the trail.'

1. 1187. *σύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφωνος*, 'of harshest harmony,' an oxymoron suggested by *χορὸς*; she means the Furies. *οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει*, a meiosis, 'for its words are not well.'

1. 1188. *καὶ μὴν*, graphic, she sees it almost; 'and lo!' (*ὥς* for *ὥστε*).

1. 1190. 'A revel-rout of sister Furies, that none can cast out!' Another bold metaphor.

1. 1192. 'The primal curse' is the first blood-shedding of the bloody race; see Introduction, p. xii.

1. 1193. *δυσμενείς* can be nom. or acc., but it is better nom., being (as Eng. and Schn. observe) a grim allusion to their name *εὐμενίδες*. 'And in turn they loathe the brother's bed (Thyestes' adultery with Aerope), pitiless to him who defiled it.'

1. 1195. 'A babbler, knocking at doors,' a vivid vernacular phrase for 'a lying impostor' such as she was considered, she tells us.

1. 1197. H. reads *τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι λόγῳ*, 'that not by hearsay do I know,' i.e. 'that I know well.' So Pal., K., and others. And Prof. Goodwin points out that Ven. has this reading. But the words cannot mean that, without any pronoun to mark the change of subject; as they stand they must mean 'swear that *you* do not know.' It is better to fall back on the best supported reading *τὸ μ' εἰδέναι*, and take *λόγῳ παλαιάς* together (so D., Welh.); the rhythm is also in favour of it: 'bear witness to me with an oath, that I know the sins of this house, old in story.' It really is nothing against this int. that *λόγῳ παλαιά* occurs in Soph. O. T. (1395), where they do *not* go together.

1. 1198. 'And how could the noble compact of an oath become a cure?' i.e. what good would an oath do? I read *παιώνιος* as one MS. has it, but it is quite possible the poet wrote *παιώνιον*, the neuter, though not grammatically right, being due to *πῆγμα* .. *παγέν*.

1. 1201. *κυρεῖν λέγουσαν*, 'tell aright of.' So *λέγων κυρήσεις* Supp. 587: and *τυγχάνω* 1232.

1. 1205. *ἄβρύνεται*, 'grows over nice.' *Swan*.

1. 1206. *παλαιστής*, 'a suitor,' lit. 'a wrestler,' one of Aesch.'s picturesque and bold words.

1. 1207. 'Came ye to rite of union in due course?' [*νόμῳ* is however odd: perhaps *γάμῳ*, Schöm. or *δομῷ*, Butl.]

1. 1211. *ἄνατος*, certain emendation of Canter for the natural MS. corruption *ἀνακτος*. *κότῳ* (instead of the more usual gen. after such adj.), to avoid the awkward sound of two genitives together.

1. 1212. *ὥς*, 'since,' 'after that.'

1. 1214. γὰρ μὲν δὲ, 661.

1. 1215. The frenzy comes upon her again 'whirling and distracting' (στροβειῖ ταρασσών), as she says.

1. 1216. The MSS. read ἐφημένους at the end, which has clearly come from the next line, displacing the word, which is therefore irrecoverable. Hermann's δυσφρομίους is very ingenious, as it supplies a reason for the gap (filled with ἐφημένους), viz. that δυσφρομίους was lost through resemblance to φρομίους. But it remains a conjecture.

1. 1217. The vision of Thyestes' children rises again.

1. 1219. ὥσπερ with the whole sentence, 'Children they seem, slaughtered by their own kin.'

1. 1222. πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, 'I see them hold;' compare, for this use of πρέπω, 241, 389.

1. 1224. The 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' is of course Aegisthos. She calls him below 'a wolf,' 1259.

1. 1225. 'Guarding the house, ah, me! for my lord returned;' the δεσπότη is dative after οἰκουρόν, as the order requires; and the force consists in the irony of the word οἰκουρός, which also prompts the cry αἶμοι. Aegisthos 'watched the house,' strangely indeed; dishonouring the queen and plotting with her the murder of the king.

1. 1226. φέρειν γάρ, etc. is suggested by δεσπότη ἐμῷ.

1. 1228. 'Knows not what things the tongue of the vile she-hound, with long-drawn smiling welcome . . . shall accomplish by evil fate.' This is the best sense that can be made out of the text as it stands; but οἶα is a clumsy and unlikely accusative for οἶον, and φαιδρόνους is a very strange adjective, and the use of adj. for adv. is harsh with ἐκτείνασα: and we can scarcely resist the conviction that the text is corrupt. On the whole Madvig's alteration (following Tyrwhitt) is the most probable, and is certainly highly ingenious; he reads:

οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα γλώσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς  
λείψασα κἀκτείνασα φαιδρὸν οὖς, δίκην  
ἄτης λαθραίου, δέχεται κακῇ τύχῃ,

. . . 'knows not what a tongue of the vile she-hound has licked (his hand) and stretched out a joyful ear, and now like a stealthy curse shall bite him by evil chance.' The violent stretches of language making the tongue (instead of the dog) stretch out a joyful ear and bite, are hardly too strong for Aeschylus. Still they are strong, and δέχεται for τεύχεται is a considerable alteration; so I have not ventured to put the conjecture into the text.

1. 1231. MSS. give τοιάδε πολὺν or τοιαῦτα. The reading in the text is the best, as all others leave θῆλυς unconnected.

1. 1232. Observe the weak ἔστιν in strong place. See on 14. καλοῦσα τύχοιμ' ἄν, 'call aright;' cp. 1201.



l. 1233. ἀμφίσβαιναν, 'a dragon,' or 'basilisk;' it is a fabulous monster that goes either way, perhaps like Sir John Mandeville's snakes with a head at each end.

l. 1235. 'Raging Dam of Death,' a bold imaginative name which it suits the frenzied mood of Cassandra to use. θύω is an Epic word, φρεσὶ θύει Il. i. 342, ἐγχεῖ θύει ib. ii. 180. For Ἀρη MSS. read ἀράν: but δασπονδος almost requires Ἀρης, 'implacable war.' Perhaps Aesch. used the other form Ἀρην, which would readily account for the error. Ἀρης again 1511, in the sense of family strife.

l. 1236. 'And how she raised a cry of triumph, the murderess, as in the battle's rout, though seeming to rejoice at his safe return.' This clearly refers to her exaggerated and insincere welcome 896 sqq. δοκεῖ is present, because it means 'they think,' 'the people think;' the impression was still there.

l. 1239. ὁμοιον, 'I care not' (lit. 'it is the same,' *es ist gleich*).

l. 1243. ξυνήκα, 'I understood,' it was past a few moments ago. πέφρικα, 'I shudder,' the horror still present.

l. 1244. ἀληθὺς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα, 'no image but the very truth.'

l. 1245. ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω, 'I run out of the track;' i.e. 'I am astray,' as we say. The racecourse supplies the most frequent metaphors in Greek. So of madness, Pr. 883 ξέω δὲ δρόμον φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι: and like this, Cho. 1022 ὥσπερ σὸν ἵπποις ἡμιστροφῶ δρόμον ἐφατέρω.

l. 1247. 'Peace, wretched woman, from such impious words;' lit. 'lull thy mouth to be well omened,' εὐφημον being proleptic. But as silence is the safest way of avoiding ill-omened speech, εὐφήμει practically comes to mean 'be silent,' e.g. Ar. Ach. 237; Ran. 352. So *favete linguis* in Latin.

l. 1248. 'There is no god of healing for this tidings;' εὐφημία might help, as long as there was hope of divine aid to avert ill; this case is hopeless.

l. 1249. εἴπερ ἔσται γ', 'if it is to be;' (πάρεσται the MS. reading can hardly mean this.)

l. 1251. 'Is this woe brought to pass?' ἄχος is quite possible, though ἄγος (Aurat.) is not unlikely.

l. 1252. MSS. give ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπης (with -ει written over). Most edd. read παρεσκόπεις, and many alter ἂν to αὖ; Pal., K., rightly retain ἂν and construe, 'You must have missed the purport of my oracles.' This makes good sense, and may be right. Compare ἡὔξω ἂν 933. Hartung however suggests ἡ κάρτα τάρτα παρεσκόπης, 'Surely thou wentest astray from my oracles.' The emendation is very ingenious, being so near the MSS. (TATAP for TAP), and I have adopted it, merely keeping ἂν, which improves the sense. 'Surely thou must have gone

far astray from my oracles,' παρακóπτεσθαι meaning 'to be deluded;' lit. 'to be knocked aside from.'

1. 1253. 'The murderer's plot I do not understand;' neither who is to do it, nor how.

1. 1254. καὶ μῆν, 'and yet,' as often, e. g. Prom. 981; Soph. Antig. 1054; Eur. Alc. 653. The sense is, 'And yet I know the Greek tongue all too well.' The answer in effect is, 'The oracles are also Greek, but not the easier to understand.'

1. 1256. Cassandra has another seizure of the prophetic fire. Observe οἶον short. See 1001.

1. 1260. It is best to follow the MSS. here, as Hermann does, only reading ἐνθήσαιν with Fa. instead of ἐνθήσει, clearly altered to suit κτενεί. κότῳ is a bold metaphor, but there is no need to alter it (with Casaub., D., Eng., etc.) to ποτῶ. 'And like one brewing a drug, she boasts that my recompence too she will mix in her vengeance, whetting her sword against her lord, to pay back blood for that he hath brought me hither.'

1. 1263. ἀντιτίσασθαι, consec. or exegetic inf. 'so as to.'

1. 1267. Hermann's emendation ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' ἔψομαι, 'and I shall follow soon,' makes good sense: but the correction in the text makes even better, and is nearer the MSS. (ΟΝΤΑΓΑΘΩ for ΟΝΤΑΘΩ), 'Go to destruction: and as ye lie, thus will I avenge myself on you' (*as she speaks she throws down the staff and crown and tramples on them*). This correction is given by Mr. A. W. Verrall, in his edition of Medea, 1881.

1. 1268. 'Enrich another with woe instead of me,' a forcible oxymoron. (So reading ἄτης with H. for ἄτην, 'another curse,' not a very appropriate expression.)

1. 1270. The MSS. reading can be construed, if with H., Eng., Schn., etc., we read μέγα for μετά, thus: 'and having looked down on me, even in these robes scouted utterly, by friends turned foes, consenting, yet in error:—[then the parenthesis describing *how* they mocked her]—and now the seer having ruined me, the prophetess has brought me,' etc.

φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, by her people, who ought to have been friends, but scorned her; in the old days before the capture.

οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην, they all agreed to scout her, and they were all wrong. After the parenthesis the sense is taken up again, and the deferred verb ἀπήγαγεν at last comes. The above is substantially Enger's int. and it is the best that can be got without more alteration.

1. 1273. 'And like a wandering cheat I bore hard names, beggar, and wretch, and starveling.' Others include φοιτᾶς among the nick-names; but the line does not run so well.

1. 1275. ἐκπράξας, 'having destroyed, ruined.' Like κεραυνὸς ἐξέ-

πραξε Soph. O. C. 1659, πῶς καὶ νιν ἐξεπράξατ'; Eur. Hec. 515. [The other sense given, 'having made me,' is weaker.]

1. 1277. ἐπίξηνον, 'a block' for beheading. So in Ar. Ach. 318.

1. 1278. κοπείσης, 'when I am struck.' The gen. abs. is always possible, and there is no need for κοπείση or κοπείσαν. (Schütz's θερμόν is neat, and may be right.)

1. 1279. οὐ μὴν .. γε (like οὐ μέντοι .. γε), 'not however;' Soph. O. T. 810 οὐ μὴν ἴσην γ' ἔτισεν. τεθνήξομεν, fut. formed from τέθνηκα, like ἐστήξω, 'not unregarded shall I be in death.'

1. 1283. κάτεισιν, in its strict sense, 'shall come back' from exile.

1. 1284. Restored by Hermann to its right place, from being after 1290, where it made no sense.

1. 1285. 'That his sire's fallen corse shall bring him home,' but a harsh phrase. Schöm. proposes πράξειν, 'that he shall exact vengeance for.'

1. 1288. πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, 'faring as it fared,' a euphemism. So Soph. O. T. 1376 βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἐβλαστε, Eur. Hec. 873 πάσχοντος οἶα πείσεται.

I take εἶλον, Musgrave's correction. εἶχον would mean the Trojans ('who were holding'). ἔσχον might do, but εἶλον is nearer.

1. 1289. οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουνσι, 'come to such an end.'

1. 1290. ἰούσα πράξω, 'I shall go to my fate;' πράσσειν seems to mean 'to do what lies before you,' to 'meet what is in store;' not an impossible meaning, but the reading is not certain.

1. 1292. καιρία, 'mortal,' lit. 'reaching the right place.'

1. 1297. αὐτῆς for σεαυτῆς, as often in Trag., Agam. 1141; Eur. Alc. 461; Soph. O. C. 930; and for ἔμαντ. ib. O. T. 138.

1. 1300. 'Yet last is first in respect of time,' i. e. 'to be last is to be best off in time,' 'to lose time is to gain time,' as we might say with a similar epigram.

ll. 1302-4. Taking these lines as they are read in MSS., the sense is—

*Cho.* Yet know that thou art patient with a brave heart (τλήμων, 'enduring').

*Ka.* None that is happy is thus spoken of.

*Cho.* But yet an honourable death is sweet!

The chorus are compassionate and consoling; Cassandra is resigned but gloomy. The sense is good, and Pal., Con., K. seem right in keeping it. On the other hand H., following Heath, has inverted the order of the last two lines, and the German edd. have generally followed suit. It makes a good, but quite different sense:—

*Cho.* Yet know that bravery brings thee to misery (τλήμων, 'miserable').

*Ka.* But yet an honourable death is sweet.

*Cho.* None that is happy hears such consolation!

But on the whole this is less likely; ἀκούει ταῦτα is much less appropriate; εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν is not what Kass. is thinking of; and her attitude is all through more a *miserable* than a *courageous* one.

1. 1305. εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν reminds her of her kindred, slain before Troy; and a new burst of grief overpowers her.

[*She advances to enter the palace; at the door she starts and stops short, as though a new horror had struck her.*]

1. 1308. ἔφευξας, from φεύγω.

1. 1310. τὸδ' ὀζει, 'this scent comes from,' 'this is the scent of.' τὸδε, acc. pron. in apposition to the sentence; literally, 'it smells *this*,' like ἡδὺ ὀζει, 'it smells *sweet*.'

1. 1312. 'No Syrian perfume for the house is this,' ἀγλάϊσμα, lit. 'splendour,' 'luxury.'

1. 1316. δυσκοίλω, 'I shrink from;' properly, 'I am uneasy at.'

1. 1317. ἄλλως, 'for nought;' my fear is not vain. A necessary correction for the meaningless ἄλλ' ὥς of the MSS.

'Bear witness of this [that my fear is not vain; that I have prophesied truly] to me after my death, when a woman dies for me a woman, and a man falls for this man with evil wife' (δυσδάμαρος gen. of δυσδάμαρ). Prophet-fashion she confirms her prophecy with another. The woman is of course Klytaemnestra; the man Aegisthos.

1. 1320. ξενόω, 'to treat as ξένος:' ἐπιξενοῦμαι (middle) 'to claim a friendly service,' lit. 'to call in a friend to yourself for a thing.' The word is usually passive, 'to be friendly entreated.'

1. 1322. οὐ θρήνον (Hermann's correction) is a quiet and dignified rejection of the chorus' pity; see 1330.

1. 1323. Read ἡλίου with Karsten; the dat. has come from the proximity of ἐπεύχομαι, but with πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, and the succeeding datives, is unlikely.

1. 1324. An obscure and probably corrupt passage. Taking the words as they stand, we can give two possible meanings, owing to the intrinsic ambiguity of τίνω; for the murderer *τίνει δίκην* when he is slain, 'pays the penalty;' and also the avenger *τίνει δίκην*, 'pays back justice' to the guilty. So it may mean (1) 'I pray for my avengers to requite my hateful murderers.' (2) 'For my hateful murderers to pay the penalty to my avengers.' The order is in favour of (1); the commoner use of τίνω in favour of (2). But the passage for many reasons must be regarded as corrupt. τοῖς ἐμοῖς is needlessly repeated; the datives are very clumsy; τίνειν wants an object; and Cassandra could hardly speak of *her* avengers, *her* murderers only. Her real drift seems to be, 'I pray that the avengers (of Agamemnon) may requite the murderers at the same time (δμοῦ) for *my* death.' [Karst. proposes ἐμοῦ δούλης for δμοῦ, δούλης: a probable suggestion.]

l. 1326. εὐμαροὺς χειρώματος, 'an easy prey.'

l. 1328. I take Conington's correction σκιά τις ἂν πρέψειεν, 'one might liken them to a sketch.' (Photius says Aesch. used πρέψαι for δμοιωσαι). σκιά, 'an outline,' cf. σκιαγραφεῖν. [Others take σκιά, 'they might seem a sketch;' but τις and the aorist are rather in favour of the former.] εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ, Epic. subj. with εἰ.

l. 1329. 'The touch of the wet sponge blots out the drawing.' ὄλεσεν, gnomic aor.

l. 1330. This line is explained by οὐ θρήνον εἰπεῖν θέλω (1322) and the chorus' pity (1321). Cassandra gives a wonderfully imaginative and pathetic sketch of human fortunes; then adds, 'this I count far more pitiable than that' (which you pity); the general sadness is sadder than one hapless lot.

[*She goes in sadly to her death.*]

[ll. 1331-42. This short chorus fills the interval while Cassandra is going in, till the blows are struck. The drift is, 'All men desire joy without end; even princes never have enough: now if Agamemnon after all his triumph is to die, who can ever hope to be scatheless?']

l. 1332. δακτυλοδείκτων, 'envied,' i. e. wealthy, royal. Cf. Horace's *Monstrari digito*.

l. 1333. εἶργει, keeps it off, i. e. τὸ εὖ πράσσειν, prosperity.

l. 1339. 'And dying for the dead brings to pass requital for other deaths,' i. e. dying in revenge for the dead (Iphigeneia) causes a new requital in the deaths of others (Klyt. and Aegisth.). Others take θανάτων to mean those whom Ag. has slain, i. e. the same as θανοῦσι. But the first rendering is much better sense; the chorus are saddened by Cassandra's prophecy (1280 and 1325) of yet other deaths to follow hers and the king's. [Perhaps ἐπιπράξει (Weil) is right for ἐπικρανεῖ.]

l. 1341. 'Who could boast to be born with scatheless fate?'

[SCENE V. (1343-1447).]

*The dying cry of Agamemnon is heard within once and again: the chorus take counsel in helpless embarrassment: the door of the palace then opens (1371) and the queen is seen with bloody axe standing over the murdered bodies. She glories in the deed and scouts all warnings or threats of the chorus.]*

l. 1343. ἐσω, 'within me,' offers no difficulty though K. suspects it.

l. 1344. The chorus become a helpless and hesitating mob of elders, each giving his own opinion. For the character of this interlude see Introduction, p. xii.

l. 1347. ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' ἦν πως ἀσφαλῇ βουλευμάτων' ἦ is the best correction. ἦν is due to Goodwin (Am. Phil. Soc. 1877), ἦ to Enger. Hermann's ἂν πῶς is unlikely; πῶς suggests ἦν. 'But let us confer, if perchance we can find safe counsel.'

1. 1349. *κηρύσσαν βοήν*, 'to proclaim the call,' i. e. to summon to rescue or fight. The *βοή* was the 'cry' for help. Cf. *εἰ βραδύνομεν βοή* Supp. 730; *καὶ εἴποι λαοῖσι βοή δ' ὤκιστα γένοιτο* Od. 22. 133; the common Homeric *βοήν ἀγαθός* means 'good at calling on' the men to fight.

1. 1351. *νεορρύτφ* (*υ* short, from *ρέω*, 'new-flowing,' not *ρύω*, 'new-drawn'), 'while the sword yet drips,' i. e. *flagrante delicto*.

1. 1355. *πράσσοντες*, 'devising,' 'preparing.' The sentiment is a curious anachronism. The Argive elders talk of 'tyranny' as if they were members of a free Greek republic.

1. 1356. 'Spurning the credit of delay,' not caring to be deliberate in action. Observe the sententious incompetence of these elders.

1. 1359. 'Tis the doer's part also to counsel about (the deed).' Apparently a sententious shuffling off responsibility. 'I had no part in the act, and why should I be troubled to advise?'

1. 1362. 'What, to prolong our lives, shall we yield to the sway of these defilers of the house?' *βίον τείνοντες*, 'in trying to lengthen our lives.' *ἡγουμένοις*, predicate, 'as rulers.'

1. 1365. 'For 'tis a milder lot than tyranny.'

1. 1367. 'Shall we divine the man has perished?' The gen. is the Epic gen. of *intelligence about a person*: one form of the gen. of reference. Compare *ὡς γὰρ χαομένοιο* Il. 4. 357, *εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω* Od. 2. 220.

1. 1368. Emphasis on *εἰδότης*; knowledge should come before anger.

1. 1370. *παντόθεν πληθύνομαι*. Lit. 'I am multiplied from all sides:' i. e. 'from all sides I find support' to approve this vote. Somewhat similar, though less strained, is the use Suppl. 604 *δήμου κρατοῦσα χεὶρ ὅπη πληθύνεται*, 'which way the decisive show of hands prevails.' [L. S. are unsatisfactory on this word.]

1. 1371. Observe the attraction *κυροῦνθ' ὅπως* for *ὅπως κυρεῖ*; the natural construction of *εἰδέναι* being with a participle.

1. 1372. [*Here the doors are rolled open by the ἐκκύκλημα.*] For the *ἐκκύκλημα*, or machine for showing the interior, see Arist. Ach. 407.

*καιρίως*, 'to serve the time.'

1. 1375. MSS. *πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον*, which Paley retains, might mean 'a snare-set woe,' i. e. destruction by snares; and we have *ἀρκυστάταν* (? -ον) *μηχανάν* Eur. Or. 1420, used as adj. But this would require us to explain the optat. as remote deliberative, see 620 and appendix; and further *ἀρκύστατα* is used as subst. Pers. 98; Eum. 112; Soph. El. 1426; therefore it seems better to follow Hermann and read *πημονῆς ἀρκύστατ' ἄν*. This would easily become *πημονῆς ἀρκυστάταν*, then *πημονήν*, then *ἀρκύστατον*. 'For how (else) could one, devising ill for foes who seem

friends, fence the snares of woe too high to leap over?' i. e. how else than by deceit? *ὑψος* is a kind of cognate acc. describing the *result* of action (internal acc.).

l. 1378. *νείκης* (necessary correction for *νίκης*, meaningless) *παλαιὰς ἀγών*, 'this struggle of an ancient feud;' the feud was old; the *ἀγών* or crisis was just come. *σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν*, 'though long delayed.' *γε μὴν*, 661. Literally, 'in course of time however.'

l. 1381. *ὥς* for *ὥστε*. 'So that he could neither flee,' etc.

l. 1383. *πλούτον εἵματος κακόν*, 'fatal splendour of garb;' it was a large fine-wrought robe.

l. 1385. *μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα*, 'relaxed at once his limbs;' *αὐτοῦ*, 'on the spot.' This is the most natural way of taking it. (Others *αὐτοῦ*; weaker. Others *μεθῆκεν*, intrans., possible.)

l. 1387. 'A votive gift to Hades Saviour of the dead,' a grim and ghastly piece of irony; 'just as the third libation is paid to *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ* (see note on 245) so I paid a third *stob* to Hades, *Σωτήρ* of the dead!' Enger reads *Διός*, which would improve *τοῦ κατὰ χθονός*, rather needless with *Αἰδου*; improve the irony; and is probable, as it would be easily supplanted by the gloss *Αἰδου*. But it is safer to follow the MSS.

l. 1388. *ὀρμαίνει*, lit. 'speeds forth,' i. e. 'gasps out his life.' H. reads *ὀρναίνει*, 'belches out,' which would do, but is not necessary: the root-meaning of *ὀρμαίνω* is 'quick movement.' So Pindar has *θυμὸς ὀρμαίνει νιν* Ol. 3. 145; and Aesch. uses it intrans. Theb. 324 of a horse.

l. 1389. *αἵματος σφαγῆν*, a bold stretch of language; we should say 'his life-blood' by an opposite metaphor.

l. 1390. 'Smites me with black splash of the murderous dew,' a fine unsparing phrase.

l. 1392. 'Rejoicing no less than doth in heaven's sweet rain the cornland at the birthpang of the buds.' Splendid lines, restored by Porson's insight from desperate corruption. For the return to nom. *σπορητός*, compare *πόλιν δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί* Thuc. 5. 44.

l. 1394. *χαίρουτ' ἂν εἰ χαίρουτ'*, 'joy if ye can,' see 1049 note.

l. 1395. *εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων*, 'had it been a fitting thing,' for *τῶν πρεπόντων*, as above, 323. Perhaps however *πρέπον τόδ'* (Karst.) is right.

l. 1396. *μὲν οὖν*, corrective as usual, 'nay more than just.'

l. 1397. The comparison must not be pressed too far; it suffices for Klytaemnestra's grim irony, and is powerfully expressive of her horrible cold-blooded triumphant mood. 'Had it been fitting,' she says (what a time to talk of decorum!), 'to pour libations over the corpse, over him it had been just—nay more than just.' (Here one begins to see that the libation is metaphorical, in some bitter sense; then out it comes.) 'So full of curses did he fill his bowl in his house, then comes and drinks it

to the dregs himself! i. e. a libation would suit this reveller: he drank deep—of *curses*! *κακῶν ἀπαλῶν* certainly go together; 'ills accursed,' 'ills curse-bringing.'

ll. 1403-6. The relentless gloating of Kl. over her deed is very finely given by these bare and bald details. *ῥυοίων*, 1239.

l. 1407. Observe the skill with which the chorus take to the lyric dochmiacs, when the tragedy is beyond the common speech of iambics. The general sense is, 'what drug hast thou eaten or drunk from land or sea, that thus thou hast brought on thy head the curse of the people? Thou hast slain, and shalt be outcast.'

l. 1408. *πῶσαμένα* from *πατέομαι*, 'to taste' (not *πᾶσαμένα* from *πᾶσμαι*, 'to acquire').

l. 1409. *τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος*, 'hast thou brought upon thyself this sacrifice?'

*θύος* is a euphemism for the murder. (Pal. and others construe 'incense,' explaining it to mean 'the wrath' of the people; but this is farfetched, and the common sense of *θύος* in Epic and Aesch. is 'sacrifice.')

l. 1410. The emphasis is on the oft-repeated preposition: 'away thou hast hurled, away thou hast cleft, and away thou shalt be cast.'

l. 1414. 'Though formerly thou didst not withstand him at all;' in the days of old when *his* crime was done.

*τότε* is better than MS. *τόδ'.*

l. 1415. 'Who caring not, as 'twere a beast that died.' *μόρον* is governed however by *προτιμῶν*.

l. 1417. 'His own daughter, sweetest pain of travelling to me;' the apposition of *ωδίνα* to *παῖδα* is a fine stretch of language.

l. 1420. *ἐπήκοος*, equivalent to a partic. 'when thou hearest.'

l. 1421. There is no occasion to alter the MSS. reading: 'I bid thee threaten and welcome, for I am prepared that likewise, if thou conquer me by force, thou shalt rule.' She shows the same contemptuous force as ever, 'I scorn your threats; let us try conclusions, and let the strongest win.' The construction of the acc. inf. after *παρεσκευασμένης* is not unnatural considering the freedom of poetry and the great flexibility of Greek. [Perhaps however *παρεσκευασμένον* (Madv.) is right.]

l. 1425. 'I'll teach thee to know, though late, the ways of prudence.' *γνώσει*, nat. rally often used in threats, Soph. Ant. 779, O. C. 852, and *infra*, 1619.

l. 1426. Rather a difficult passage: the MS. is corrupt in 1428; and the prop. r stopping is doubtful. It seems to make the best sense with the least alteration if we read *ἐμπρέπει, ἀτίετον* for *εὐ πρέπει ἀτίετον*, the reading of Fa.: 'High is thy spirit, and haughty thy word, as indeed thy mind is frenzied by the deed of blood; the blood-stain over thine eyes is plain to see: [but yet] one day dishonoured, rest of friends, thou



shalt pay for blow with blow!' [Others read ἐμπρέπειν (Pal., H., K.) after ἔλακες, 'thou didst boast that the stain,' etc., referring to 1390. But περίφρονα refers to her whole attitude, not to one phrase thirty-five lines back. Others read ἀτιτον with what precedes, 'a blood-stain unavenged.']

1. 1431. θέμις, properly (from θε-) 'ordinance,' 'that which is laid down,' 'law;' used here in a strained sense to mean something like 'sanctity,' or 'solemnity.' Construe, 'This too thou hearest, this my solemn oath.'

1. 1434. The MS. reading here means, 'Hope doth not tread for me the halls of Fear.' A fine picturesque phrase, surely not too imaginative or metaphorical for Aeschylus. She means, 'My hope does not approach fear,' 'my confidence is dashed with no misgivings.'

[Others construe, 'Expectation of fear does not tread my halls,' a much poorer sense. Others read ἐμπατεῖν, 'I have no expectation that fear (φόβον) will tread my halls,' or 'to tread the halls of fear' (φόβου). None are as fine as the MS. reading, in the sense given above.]

1. 1435. Observe the lavish imagery: Aegisthos is 'a fire' and 'a shield.'

1. 1439. 'Minion of each Chryseis before Troy.' *Chryseis*, daughter of the priest Chryses: the Iliad opens with her as Agamemnon's slave and concubine. This use of the plural is natural in all languages. So Plat. Theat. 169 B οἱ Θησέες τε καὶ Ἡρακλείες.

1. 1442. ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων ἱσοτριβής, 'sharing alike with him the mariners' bench.' Quite good sense, and not requiring the further change of ναυτίλοις, which some edd. give.

1. 1443. ἀτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην, 'ay, they deserved their fate.'

1. 1446. φιλήτωρ τῷδ', 'dear to his heart.' φιλήτωρ, not verbal from φιλέω, which would be a masculine word, but from φίλος-ἦτορ, adj. Hence we must change MS. τοῦδ' to τῷδ', with H. τοῦδε has easily come from misunderstanding the form φιλήτωρ.

1. 1447. 'And to me has brought a new delight for my luxurious couch.' Lit. 'a new couch-relish of my luxury.' She means she has added to her lawless love the new delight of a doubly satisfied jealousy and vengeance. But the genitives are doubtless awkward and may be corrupt, and one is tempted to take Schöm.'s ἐμῇ .. εὐνῇ.

[ll. 1449-1576. *Kommos*, or lamentation, with answers from the stage.

*Chorus.* (1449-61). 'Oh for some speedy and painless death! Oh fatal Helena!'

*Klyt.* (1461-67). 'Pray not for death nor blame Helena for all!'

*Chor.* (1468-74). 'Oh fate so hard on our house! oh fatal women!'

*Klyt.* (1475-80). 'You are right to call on our Fate: he is the source of bloodshed.'



*Chor.* (1481-96). 'A grievous fate, from Zeus the almighty. Oh king how bewail thee, slain by evil craft?'

*Klyt.* (1497-1504). 'I am not Klytaemnestra, but the Race-Avenger in woman's shape.'

*Chor.* (1505-20). 'Say not you are innocent: perhaps the Avenger is your helper.'

*Klyt.* (1521-29). 'He too was guilty: he slew Iphigeneia.'

*Chor.* (1530-50). 'I am bewildered amid this bloodshed. Oh that I had died first! Who will bury him? wilt thou, the murderess?'

*Klyt.* (1551-59). 'I will bury him: and his daughter dear shall meet him as he crosses the dark river, and welcome him.'

*Chor.* (1560-66). 'Another reviling! It is hard to see clear: the spoiler is spoiled: 'tis the gods' will.'

*Klyt.* (1567-78). 'Henceforth I will make truce with the family Fate: he shall go and plague others: I shall be at peace: I want but little.']

1. 1450. φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν, 'bringing amongst us:': the use of ἐν (and other preps. which take dat. see 357) with verb of motion is Epic. Cf. ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ὀρούσας *Il.* 22. 182: so *πρὸς* οἱ εἶλε, 'took her to him,' *ib.* 507. Hence we need not change to ἐφ' with H.

1. 1451. δαμέντος, 'laid low;': Epic word for 'slain.'

1. 1453. The simplest and best emendation is to read Epic πολέα for πολλά with Enger, omitting καί here and μοι 1472; 'having borne much through a woman.' καί is not wanted: if put directly the sentence would be ἐδάμη .. τλάς.

1. 1456. Observe the effect of τὰς, 'who alone didst bring to death so many, so exceeding many lives.'

ll. 1458-61 are very corrupt and obscure. They are generally taken, after Hermann, to be parallel with 1537-50, a supposition very probable; but if so there are 5½ lines of anapaests lost, and the three lyric lines correspond very imperfectly. It is useless to prune the lines to fit each other; the best one can do is to guess at the sense as near as may be. Omitting then δι' before αἶμ' with Herm. and reading with Enger ἥ τις for ἥ τις, we may translate: . . . 'Thou hast put forth on thee as a flower a memorable stain of blood indelible; surely there was strife then in the house, a woe subduing the king.' ἐρίδματος, Epic compound from ἐρι-, 'exceedingly,' δμα-, 'to subdue.' This may be taken in default of better.

1. 1467. ἀξύστατον, 'that cannot be put together, arranged, settled,' and so of pain 'not to be allayed,' 'incurable.' Aristophanes playfully quotes the word (*Nub.* 1367) of Aeschylus himself, putting it (according to the best arrangement) in the mouth of an opponent; there it seems to mean 'rough,' 'uncouth,' 'boisterous,' lit. 'not to be allayed or

kept quiet.' (Paley's 'incomparable' will not do at all; he misses the sense of the passage in the Clouds.)

l. 1466. 'The two sons of Tantalos' are, of course, Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 1470 seems to mean, 'and wieldest the sway like-minded of two women, that gnaws my heart,' i. e. 'and who bringest the power of two women equally imperious (Helena and Klytaemnestra) with men, causing such woe to me.'

l. 1472. *ἐννόμως* is the best supported reading, 'and standing over the body like a hateful raven, she boasts that her song is *just*.' But *ἐκνόμως*, reading of Farnese, is best sense, 'she boastfully sings a *tuneless* strain;' the harsh, discordant (*ἐκνόμως*), triumphant note of the raven makes a much better point.

l. 1476. *τριπάχυντον* (Hermann's correction for the impossible *τριπάχυιον*), 'thrice gorged,' explained below in *αἱματολοιχός*.

l. 1478. 'For 'tis he from whom bloodthirsty longing is nursed in the heart; before the old woe ceases, the new blood flows.' *νείρα*, 'in the heart,' unknown word. (Others *νείρα* = *νειαίρα*, Homeric adj. 'lowest,' agreeing with *γαστήρ*; and Hesych. mentions *νείρη*, 'the belly,' but of two unknown words one prefers the MS. form.)

l. 1480. *ἰχώρ*, Epic word for the ethereal blood of the gods. Here used for 'blood' simply.

l. 1481. *οἰκονόμον* (Schn., K.) is the best correction for *οἴκοις τοῖσδε*, 'haunting the house.'

l. 1483. *αἶνον*, cognate (internal) acc. to *αἰνέει*, 'a mighty Fate is he of whom thou tellest . . . an evil tale of woe accursed, insatiate.'

l. 1492. 'The spider's web' is of course the cloak in which he was caught and slain.

l. 1493. *ἐκπνέων* at the end of the anapaestic stanza must be pronounced as dissyllable; just as *θεῶν*, *πόλεως*, *βασιλέως*, are 1, 2, and 3 syllables respectively when required (synizezis).

l. 1494. After a pause at *ἐκπνέων*, the sentence is continued in a burst of anguish, '(thou liest) alas! alas! on this base bed.' *κοίταν*, cognate acc.

l. 1495. *βελέμνη*, 'weapon.' It is generally called an axe, though more probably a dagger.

l. 1498. *μηδ' ἐπλεχθῆς*, 'but do not think.' *ἐπιλέγομαι* is an Ionic word, used often in Herodotus for 'to think,' 'expect,' 'consider,' properly no doubt 'to say over to one's self.' This tense does not occur elsewhere, and has been suspected; but there is no more intrinsic difficulty in it than in the deponent *διελέχθην*, which is common.

*μηδέ*, 'but not,' is Epic; in Attic it was always *ἀλλὰ μή*. See Od. 5. 177, 10. 342.

1. 1501. 'The ancient bitter Avenger' is the personified spectre or spirit of justice, which makes demand for other blood in requital for blood shed. See Introduction, p. xii.

1. 1502. 'Who served the hideous banquet' of children to Thyestes.

1. 1504. 'Slaughtering a man for children,' lit. 'upon children,' i. e. the second victim (metaphorically) *upon* the first, that is to say, 'in vengeance for.'

1. 1507. *πῶ πῶ*; Lit. 'where? where?' Doric for *ποῦ*. The meaning is, 'Nay, nay!' just as in the colloquial word *πάματα*, 'not a bit.'

*πατρῶθεν δέ*, 'yet from his sires an avenger might aid thee;' you are not innocent, but the ancestral avenger may have had a share in the bloodshed.

11. 1510-12. Rather difficult and doubtful passage. It begins, 'Yet black havoc presses on, with streams of kindred slaughter (then MSS. read *δοι δὲ καὶ προβαίνων πάχνη κουροβόρῃ παρέξει*, quite impossible Greek, though even Hermann tries to construe it; the easiest alteration is Butler's and Scholefield's *δικαν* for *δὲ καί*, which I have taken), 'thither where advancing he shall give requital for the clot of the blood of children slain for food,' i. e. black havoc presses with murder in the family till he has avenged the murder of Thyestes' children. But one cannot feel much confidence about the reading or sense.

11. 1521, 2. These lines are clearly spurious; the answer clearly begins *οὐδὲ γάρ*, the *οὔτε* is wrong, and the insertion spoils the sense of what follows.

1. 1525. *ἔρνος* is acc. after *δράσας*, which regularly takes acc. of person treated, and of the kind of treatment. 'But my offshoot sprung from him . . . as he hath dealt with her so hath he suffered.'

1. 1526. The *τε* after *πολύκλαυτον* marks apposition; so Suppl. 60 *Τηρέας ἀλόχου κικηλάτου τ' ἀηδόνας*. *Ἰφιγενείαν*, older (dialectic) form with a long; so we find *εὐκλεία*, *ἀγνοιά*, *ἀνοιά*, in Trag. and *ὑγεία* even in Com. (Ar. Av. 609). Hence there is no need to read with MSS. *Ἰφιγενείαν ἀν-* | *ἄξια δράσας κ.τ.λ.* See next line.

1. 1527. *ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων*. A difficulty has been made with these lines from not seeing that the words are *correlative*, 'the deed was worthy (of the suffering), the suffering was worthy (of the deed).'

1. 1531. *μέριμναν*, acc. after *στερηθεῖς* (which verb takes naturally acc. of thing stolen), 'robbed of thought's ready devising.'

1. 1533. 'I fear the patter of bloody rain, that makes the house to totter; no longer it comes in drops.'

1. 1535. To say that 'Fate sharpens justice for another deed of harm' is quite intelligible, and the imagery quite Aeschylean. So the ordinary correction *δίκην* may be taken. At the same time the simpler

phrase *δίκη . . . θηγάται μάχαιραν* (Musgrave) is a rather tempting emendation.

l. 1540. *δρότη*, 'bath'; *χαμένη*, 'low couch.'

l. 1544. *αὐτῆς* for *σεαυτῆς*, 1297.

l. 1545. *ἄχαριν χάριν*, 'a graceless gift' (*Mors.*).

l. 1548. 'And who shall utter his praise with tears over the tomb of the man divine, labouring in sincerity of heart.' The *ἀλήθεια φρενῶν* last and emphatic; it was so terribly absent in Klytaemnestra.

l. 1553. The prepositions as in 1410. 'Down he fell, down he lay, and down we will bury him.' Klytaemnestra is perhaps scornfully parodying the emphasis of the chorus. The absence of augment, and the assimilation of *κατ-*, is Epic.

l. 1554. Her bitterness and cruel triumph reach a climax in this terrible sarcasm, 'None of the house shall bewail him, . . . but his *dear daughter, as is fit*, shall meet and welcome him at the swift ferry-passage of woes.'

l. 1560. Notice how the last note of this long chorus is the darkness and inscrutability of fate; the inevitableness of the evil consequences of sin. *ὄνειδος ἀντ' ὀνειδούς*, 'reviling for reviling'; the bitterness of Klyt.'s taunt saddens but does not now anger the chorus.

l. 1561. 'Tis hard to discern the right; she spoils the spoiler, the slayer pays his debt, but it remains—while Zeus remains on his throne—that the doer must suffer . . .'

l. 1562. *φέρει φέροντ'*, a proverbial phrase, *φέρω* in the old sense *φέρειν ἄγειν*, 'to carry off booty.'

l. 1564. *χρόνῳ* is the MS. reading, which can only be construed with Klausen, 'while Zeus remains, it remains *in due time* that,' etc., and the order of the words is very harsh for this. Paléy's rendering, 'while time remains and Zeus is lord,' is good sense, but hardly the Greek. It is better to read *θρόνῳ* with Schütz (so H., Schn., Eng., etc.)

l. 1565. *γονὰν ἀράϊον* (H.'s beautiful correction for *βῆον*), 'the brood of curses.'

l. 1566. Again a certain correction *πρὸς ἀτὰρ* for the meaningless *προσάψαι* (ΑΨΑΙ into ΑΤΑΙ), 'the race is fast bound to woe.'

l. 1567. MSS. have *ἐνέβη χρησμόν*, some alter to *ἐνέβης*, which gives a poor sense; a far better one is got by altering *χρησμόν* to *χρησμός*, 'this maxim (that the doer shall suffer) has with truth trodden *him* (Agamemnon) down.'

l. 1569. *Πλεισθενιδᾶν*. Grammarians say that Pleisthenes was son of Atreus, and father of Agamemnon, but that as he died young, Agamemnon is usually called son of Atreus. It is certain that Agamemnon is son of Atreus in the Homeric tradition, which seems to be usually that of the later poets in this respect. Perhaps Pleisthenes

belongs to another form of the story altogether, and Aeschylus merely uses his name for the *family*, just as he calls them sometimes Pelopidae, or Tantalidae.

1. 1570. 'Making compact that I will bear this, though hard to be borne, but that hereafter he shall go,' etc.

τάδε μὲν στέργειν. It is characteristic of Klytaemnestra's cold-blooded shamelessness that she speaks of '*bearing*' the trouble of the house, she the murderess. The tone is, 'We have been plagued enough, let the hard fate of the house go vex other families with kindred slaughter.'

1. 1573. αὐθέντης θάνατος, 'kin-murder.' See note on αὐτοφόνος, 1091.

1. 1574. The cold irony is at its height here, 'All I want is a quiet life and a humble competence, having cured the house of its *blood-feud*.'

[Exodos, or last scene (1577-1673). Aegisthos vaunts his part in the bloody deed, telling the tale of past deeds which have produced this: the chorus rebuke him, and mention the name of Orestes. The quarrel waxes hot, and violence is threatened, when Klytaemnestra intervenes and stops the strife.]

1. 1579. 'The gods look down on woes of earth, aiding mortals,' is perfectly good sense; no need to alter ἀχη into δγη.

1. 1582. 'Paying for the crafty crimes of his sire's hand' is explained in what follows; note that Atreus again is called πατήρ, not Pleisthenes.

1. 1585. ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κράτει, 'being questioned in his sovereignty,' i. e. 'his power disputed.' ἀμφ. must be passive (cf. 881); the passage quoted for the active meaning, ἀμφίλεκτος ἔρις (Eur. Phoen. 500), proves nothing, as the passive meaning is quite possible there.

1. 1589. '(A lot secure), not to die and defile with his blood his native soil.' The MSS. read mostly αὐτοῦ, as the end of this sentence. Even if we construe it 'there on the spot,' it seems unfit and intolerably flat. (See however ἐμήν 14.) Further, the tribrach ξένια is ugly. The probability is that it is a gloss, and one is strongly tempted to think with Schütz that the next line is spurious, and that 1590 originally ran ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατήρ πατρί. See next note.

1. 1591. Probably spurious, πατρί belonging to 1590. 'More zealous than friendly,' is only possible as a joke, when applied to a man who under cover of a banquet murders his brother's children; and Aegisthos is not joking. Moreover, the jingle προθύμως, εὐθύμως is suspicious, the name Ἀτρεΰς needless, and the rejection of 1591 amends 1590 so neatly.

1. 1592. 'Feigning to celebrate with cheer a day of feasting.'

1. 1594. κτένας, properly 'combs,' here 'the fingers.' The word is

used of a variety of things, ribs, hair, rakes, teeth, wherever the metaphor is natural.

l. 1595. The MS. reading will construe . . . *ἔθρυπτ' ἀνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος*. *ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβών κ.τ.λ.* 'The feet and hands he (Atreus) broke up small (*θρύπτω*, 'to crush,' used with *βύλακα*, *χιόνα κ.τ.λ.*, *not* 'to break off,') sitting above, apart from the rest; but the undistinguishable parts he (Thyestes) taking in ignorance,' etc. And the antithesis between *τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη* and *ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν* (which, however, should probably be *τάσσημα*) is clear and natural, and at first sight seems a strong argument for the MS. reading. But the change of subject without any notice is very harsh, and the real antithesis to *τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη* is probably understood in the rapid and vivid narrative. We must then take Hermann's *ἄσημ' ὁ δ' αὐτῶν*, and very possibly *ἔκρυπτ'* for *ἔθρυπτ'*, with Casaubon. The sense will be: 'The feet and hands he broke up small (*or* hid on the dish, *ἔκρυπτ'*), sitting above and apart, so that none should know them (*ἄσημα*, proleptic); [the rest of the flesh he put on the dish]; but he in ignorance took thereof (*αὐτῶν* partitive, or perh. after *ἀγνοίᾳ*) and ate a meal fatal,' etc.

l. 1599. 'And falls back, spitting forth the slaughtered flesh.' I have taken Hartung's *ἀπὸ σφαγῆν* with the MS. *ἐρῶν*, i. e. *ἀπερῶν σφαγῆν*, from *ἀπ-ἐράω*, to 'spit or vomit forth.' Another compound, *ἐξεράω*, is used in Aristoph. for 'to disgorge.' *ἀπὸ σφαγῆν* would be certain to get corrupted into *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς*, and *ἐράω* is transitive, and requires accusative. [*ἐρῶν* is defended by Prof. Goodwin.] This seems better than the common *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς ἐμῶν*, 'from the flesh vomiting.'

l. 1601. It is perhaps simplest to construe this, 'spurning the banquet *to aid* his curse.' *σύνδικος* being properly 'one who pleads with you,' 'an aider in the cause.' *συνδίκως* governs *ἀρᾷ* [the common rendering 'jointly,' is worse sense, and has no parallel in the usage of *σύνδικος*]. The violent crash of the banquet was the symbol (*οὕτως*) of the invoked destruction of the family. Such symbolism is common and natural in primitive times when good or evil is prophesied or invoked.

l. 1605. 'For me, the thirteenth child, he drives out with my hapless father.' This is the meaning of the MS. reading; but *ἐπὶ δέκ'* is almost certainly corrupt; the only traditions we have give at most three children to Thyestes, and the mention of the number seems so needless and inappropriate. I read with Schöm. *δυσαλθλίφ. ἐπὶ* means lit. 'on,' i. e. 'along with.' It is rather needless with *συνεξελάυνει*, and hence the corruption.

l. 1611. All the MSS. (except Fa., which has been a good deal corrected) give *ἰδόντα*: the acc. is quite right after *τὸ καθανεῖν*, in agreement with the subject. So Eur. Med. 814 *σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν τάδ' ἐστὶ μὴ πάσχουσιν ὥς ἐγὼ κακῶς*.

l. 1612. σέβω, 'honour,' understatement for 'approve.'

l. 1617. νερετέρα κώπη. There were three benches or banks of rowers in a trireme, the θαλαμίται, or lowest, with least work and pay; then the ζυγίται, or middle; and finally, the θρανίται, or highest bench. If ζυγόν, as is probable, refers to ζυγίται, Aeschylus must be thinking of a bireme, where the ζυγίται would be the highest. (Klausen.) The νερετέρα κώπη is then the θαλαμίται. 'Dost thou speak so, set to the lower oar, when those on the higher seat control the ship?'

l. 1620. σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον, 'when bidden to be prudent.' εἰρημένον, 'it being ordered,' acc. absolute, like παρόν, δέον, ἔξόν, προσήκον κ.τ.λ., the regular usage with impersonals.

l. 1621. γήρας, acc. 'but to teach even the old, chains and hunger-pangs are excellent physicians of the mind.' (Two MSS. misunderstanding the constr. read δεσμών.)

l. 1623. 'Hast eyes and seest not this?'

l. 1624. παίσας is found in a Scholiast's quotation of the line, and is in itself better than the other suggestion πταίσας, 'stumbling:' 'lest thou strike them and suffer.'

l. 1625. These three lines must be addressed to Aegisthos, for (1) Klyt. is not on the scene, being only summoned later by the noise to allay the tumult, (2) even if she was here the chorus have said their say to her (1373-1575), (3) it would sadly interrupt the scene to interpolate an appeal to the queen, when the point here is the rising exasperation between Aegisthos and the chorus. Taking Wieseler's μένον (for νέον) and αλοχύνas, we may leave the rest: it is better than altering τοὺς ἡκοντας. 'Thou woman, didst thou abide at home waiting for the warrior's return, and having defiled the man's bed, devise this fate for the leader of the host?'

[If we retain νέον and αλοχύνου' we must take the ordinary correction τοῦδ' ἡκοντος: but we must still, for the reasons given, suppose it addressed to Aegisthos: the fem. part. will then continue the taunt of γύναι.]

l. 1628. There is bitterness in the turgid expression ἀρχηγενή, 'the primal source of tears.'

l. 1631. 'Stirring our wrath with thy vain howling.'

l. 1632. ἄξει, passive, 'shall be dragged off,' another point of contrast with Orpheus. 'He was sweet-voiced; you howl like a dog; he dragged others after him, you shall be dragged away.'

l. 1633. ὡς δὴ σύ, lit. 'for of course you will be,' 'since surely you will be,' i. e. 'doubtless you will be,' ironical. So Soph. O. C. 809 ὡς δὴ σὺ βραχέα ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις. Or it might be explained as an exclamation, 'how surely you will be!' also ironical.

l. 1637. 'I was of old suspected as a foe.'



l. 1640. βαρεῖαις, 'with heavy yoke.' ζεύγαις understood from the verb. οὐ μή or οὔτι μή, properly used with subj. or future indic., e. g. οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ, 'no fear of my being caught.' οὐ μή τις ἄξει (Soph. O. C. 177), 'No chance of any one taking you away.' Hence it comes to be used as a very strong negative, and so we find it here negating an adj. only. 'Surely no high-mettled trace-horse,' well fed and lightly caparisoned, but a heavily yoked one tamed by hunger. [Perhaps however, as οὐ μή is generally used with verbs, we should read with Karst. οὐ τι μὴν. So Soph. Phil. 1273.]

l. 1642. μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται, 'shall see him tamed.'

l. 1645. 'But with thee a woman slew him.' σύν, adverbial, an Epic usage not uncommon in poetry; ἐν, πρὸς, and others, are so used. But as Klyt. did not *share* the deed, but did it alone, σύν has been doubted. If it is right it must be used loosely to mean 'thy accomplice,' 'acting with thee.' Most edd. read νῦν, Schn. suggests σοί, which is not bad.

l. 1649. δοκεῖς, 'art resolved,' personal construction, see 16. ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, 'to do and say such things,' no need for κοῦ λέγειν, as most edd. alter.

l. 1650. A line is lost here; 1651 must be given to Aegisthos (not the chorus, as MSS.), for 1652 is clearly an answer to it. λοχῖται, 'comrades,' are Aegisthos' bodyguard.

l. 1653. 'Die, thou sayest; we take the omen,' as Ken. well translates it. τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα, 'and we take our good fortune.'

[*Klytaemnestra appears just as they are about to fight, and stills the tumult.*]

l. 1655. The order of the words points to taking πολλά as predicate, 'Even these are many to reap, a bitter harvest.' The commoner rendering, 'Even to reap these many woes is a bitter harvest,' is possible, but would rather require τοσαῦτα.

ll. 1657, 8. Very corrupt. I have taken Madvig's as the best emendation, πρὸς δόμους, πεπρωμένοις πρὶν παθεῖν, εἰξαντες ἄρκειν χρῆν κ.τ.λ., 'Go to your homes, yielding to fate before ye suffer.' This is the only correction which gives a decent sense to πεπρωμένος, a word always used of fate. [If this alters too much, take Hermann's, πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους, Πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες ἄρκειν κ.τ.λ.]

l. 1659. Read with Hermann δεχοίμεθ' ἄν. The best sense seems to be, 'and if these troubles should be found sufficient, we would accept them, though grievously smitten with God's wrath.' (Hermann's δ' ἔτ' οὐ for δέ τοι is unhappy, it would be μηκέτι), i. e. 'if no further trouble occurs, we will be content.' A proudly conciliatory speech, meaning, 'we will forget this outbreak if you keep quiet for the future.'

l. 1662. 'Cull the flowers of a foolish tongue,' a characteristic

Aeschylean figure. The accus. and inf. is exclamatory, 'But that these should...' i. e. 'the idea that they should...'

l. 1664. Blomfield ingeniously supplies  $\theta'$  ὑβρίσαι for the missing three syllables.

l. 1666. μέτειμι, 'will visit it on thee.'

l. 1668. 'Exiles feed on hope;' in this scornful taunt there is dramatic irony, for those who know what is coming in the next play; the exile Orestes returns and slays her.

l. 1669. 'Go on, and fatten, defiling justice; for thou hast the power.'

l. 1671. The cock was the 'home-fighting' bird (*ἐνδομάχας* Pind. Ol. 12. 13; *ἐνοίκιος ὄρνις* Eum. 866), and so is Aegisthos, who dares not fight abroad, but is only formidable on his own dunghill.

l. 1672. προτιμάω has a secondary meaning 'to care for,' and the construction follows the meaning; it takes gen. like μέλει, φροντίζειν κ.τ.λ.

# APPENDICES.

## I.

### *The Remote Deliberative.*

Line 620. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλᾶ. All the commentators notice here the omission of ἄν: Paley says it occurs in negative propositions. Kennedy follows Peile in saying the optative is due to indefinite generality: a strange confusion. Enger says the strict Attic rule would require ἄν: Hermann does not notice it. Madvig emends wildly. The true explanation seems to have escaped everybody.

The fact is, that all the passages where commentators have regretted the want of ἄν in Attic Greek have one common character; they are all (not 'negative,' as Paley says, on a small induction, but) *interrogative*, either direct or indirect. The following is a list of those I can find:—

#### (1) Direct.

- Soph. O. C. 170 ποῖ τις φροντίδος ἔλθοι; (sic Laur. Cod.)  
 „ Ant. 604 τέαν Ζεῦ δύνασιν τις ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι; (sic Codd.)  
 „ Phil. 895 τί δῆτα δρῶμ' ἐγώ;  
 Ar. Plut. 438 ποῖ τις φύγοι;  
 Plat. Gorg. 492 B τί κάκιον εἶη;

#### (2) Indirect.

- Aesch. Ag. 620 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι.  
 „ P. V. 292 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτ' αὖ μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμι.  
 „ Cho. 172 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείρατό νιν.  
 Eur. Alc. 52 ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἀλκιστὶς ἐς γῆρας μόλοι;  
 Plat. Euthyd. 296 D οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀμφισβητοῖην.

[It is true that (2) are not strictly interrogative in form: but just as οὐκ ἔχει τί εἶπῃ (and even ἔχει δ, τι εἶπῃ) are allowed by analogy or extension of usage from the strict interrogative form οὐκ οἶδεν or οἶδεν δ, τι εἶπῃ, so these instances are really the interrogative optative put obliquely.]

Now it must be plain, considering these examples all in a lump, that what they *vary from* is not the optative with ἄν, but the interrogative subjunctive, or, as it is usually called, the *deliberative*. The subjunctive might be substituted for the optative in all these instances: and in the first two it is usually so read, though against the best MS. authority.

The difficulty then is this: not why *ἄν* is omitted, for the sentences are not conditional; but why the *remote* form (optative) is used instead of the *primary* form (subjunctive), when the sentences are all of a *primary* character.

The answer is that the optative expresses the remoteness, not as usual (e.g. in past final, or past indefinite, or past deliberatives) of *pastness*, but of possibility: the instinct is to express by optative something *more out of the question* than the subjunctive would have expressed.

Thus e.g. in the first instance *τίς κατάσχη*; would be good Greek, but the question of restraining Zeus' omnipotence would seem to be more treated as a practical one: the optative puts it further off, as a wild impossibility.

Or again, in Ar. Plut. 438 *ποῖ φύγη* would be in ordinary circumstances the expression, and so the older editors all read it: but *φύγοι*, the MS. reading, and the right one, is the exclamation of supreme terror, treating escape as in the last degree unlikely.

## II.

*τόπος, τοπή, τοπάω, τὸ πᾶν.*

Mr. A. W. Verrall, in a very ingenious paper in the *Journal of Philology* (9. 115), has endeavoured to show that a family of words—*τόπος*, *τοπή*, and *τοπάω*, all connected with *τοπάω*, and meaning 'conjecture,' 'divination,' 'discovery' (the verb 'to divine' or 'discover')—has disappeared from many places in our texts, owing to various corruptions, such as *τρόπος* for *τόπος*, *τὸ πᾶν* for *τοπᾶν* or *τοπᾶν*, etc.

In the course of his argument he deals with the following passages from Agamemnon:—

(1) 161-176.

(2) 681-99 sqq.

(3) 992-3.

In (1) (besides many other emendations) he would read in 174-5:—

*Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
τεύχεται φρενῶν τοπᾶν,*

which he construes, 'but he that prophetically nameth (*κλάζων* for *κλήζων*) Zeus by titles of victory shall be right in thus divining his character.'

In (2) he would read in 681 *ᾧδ' ἐς τοπᾶν ἐτητύμω*s, 'with so true a prophecy' (with such literal truth in respect of his divination).

In (3) he would read *οὐ τοπᾶν ἔχων ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος*, 'unable to discover the welcome assurance of hope.'

After carefully considering his arguments, I must own that in all three passages I prefer the MS. reading. (1) Κλάζων can quite well be used of a loud utterance (cp. 48, 201): and τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν, 'shall find wisdom altogether,' is a better sense than the one proposed. Indeed 'divining his character' is a totally inappropriate expression; there is no 'divination of character' in piously calling Zeus 'the Victor:' and for the meaning given to προφρόνως there is no authority whatever.

In (2) the emendation is less unlikely: but even there τοπή does not seem quite the right word, as it should properly mean 'conjecture' as opposed to 'knowledge,' and not 'prophecy;' it is properly applied to *finding out truth* by guessing, not *foretelling* it; and the MSS. ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐρητύμως, 'altogether truly' (not 'on the whole,' as Mr. Verrall says, which is quite different, but like πᾶν or παρᾶπαν), seems perfectly satisfactory.

In (3) τοπᾶν θράσος, 'to discover assurance,' is not at all a happy phrase, while οὐ τὸ πᾶν is just what is wanted to express the misgiving constantly recurring, in spite of the king having just returned triumphant and safe: 'not having to the full hope's happy courage,' as K. translates it.

On the whole therefore I cannot agree in Mr. Verrall's proposed emendations as far as the Agamemnon is concerned. Still I am bound to say that I feel, not merely that the *a priori* probability is great that the τοπή, τοπάω, etc. would disappear from our texts in some places, but also that in some of the passages where he would restore them there is much to be said for the restoration.

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